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# REVIEW
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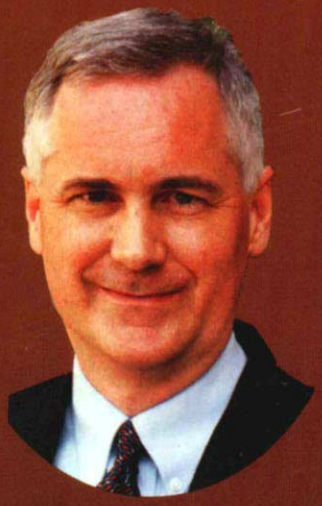
Hiram Johnson's Gift to California. The nation watches as Golden State voters prepare to set off an earthquake.



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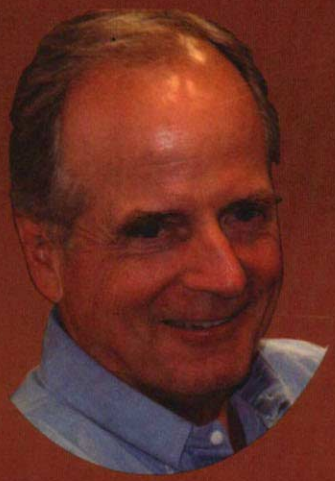
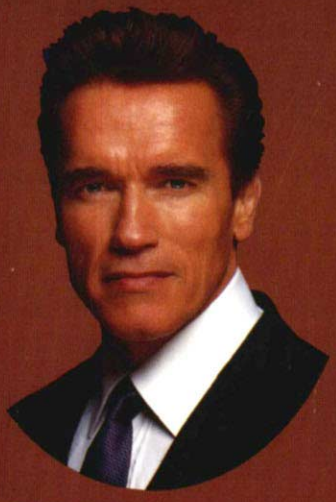
# PEOPLE POWER





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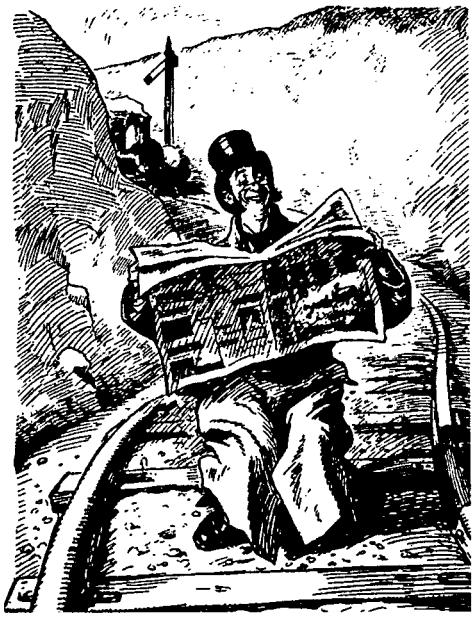

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# REVIEW

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# CORRESPONDENCE

## Neumayr's Insight

Kudos for an excellent issue (July/August). I especially appreciated George Neumayr's insightful comments on the press, race, and sex ("The Media's Race/Sex Fixation," The Working Press), as well as Mr. Shubin's essay ("Betraying the Mission") on the United Way.

W. Edward Chynoweth
Sanger

## A Light in a Dark Age

*CPR's* May/June issue is particularly on target and informative. The "Front Line" comments on the CRA [California Republican Assembly] and the need for conservatives to organize are very timely.

Californians, politically speaking, are right of center. Because the liberals have abandoned the center with their anti-business, anti-family agenda, opportunities for conservatives abound. I am concerned that a consequence of the left-wing laws adopted over the last couple of decades has been to force many conservative families to work harder or leave the state. Certainly, this has cut back on the availability of time and money they have had to contribute to conservative candidates and causes.

As William E. (for Everright) Saracino points out in his indictment of big business ("Business's Stake in the Budget Battle"), there is no business organization able to be politically significant. Perhaps like the CRA, the business community has lost too many members to other states, but it is more likely that these groups have made a Chamberlain-like decision to declare that absolutely everything is negotiable.

Of course it does not help California's remaining small businesses when their Sacramento "advocates" are also liberal party activists or contributors.

Keep up the good work. Like the monks in the Middle Ages who kept faithful record of ancient wisdom until the world was ready again to receive it, so *California Political Review* is to our age.

Bill Leonard
Sacramento
*(Former Legislator Bill Leonard is a member of the California Board of Equalization.)*

## 21, 25, and 40

I find it difficult to discuss today's budget catastrophe because of the lack of facts. Ray Haynes' article ("Contrived Budget Crisis," *CPR*, May/June) was very good, including the percentages of 21, 25, and 40 [percentage increases in California population and inflation, state revenues, and state spending, respectively, during the Davis years]. An article tabulating these variables for the past 10 years would be helpful.

James H. Steger
Camarillo

*Thanks for the idea. It's in the works.*

*— editor*



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# SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

## GOP Leader McCarthy

The dog days of summer have lived up to their nickname, at least weather-wise, here in Recall Central. It's been so hot that even Lassie and Rin-Tin-Tin have left town. Nonetheless, your intrepid *Spectator* has stayed on the job, soothed only by the occasional cool libation at the fashionable *soirees* at which I do my spectating.

Termed out Assembly GOP Leader Dave Cox's announcement that he would run for Rico Oller's Senate seat (which Oller is vacating to run for Doug Ose's congressional seat — soon to be vacated due to Ose's self-imposed term limit) made it "open season" for those returning Assembly members wanting to succeed Cox as leader. The contest didn't last long. Freshman Kevin McCarthy from Bakersfield is widely acknowledged to have the job just about tied up.

Some conservatives expressed concern at this prospect, due to McCarthy's close tie to longtime conservative nemesis, Congressman Bill Thomas. McCarthy has sought to defuse that issue by making it known that his top leadership team would be rounded off with the inclusion of Ray Haynes and Rick Keene. *CPR* contributor Haynes is a stalwart conservative warhorse who has served in both legislative houses, and freshman Keene is also a solid conservative, hailing from the northern Sacramento Valley.

Your *Spectator* doesn't know McCarthy well, but he does know Haynes and Keene. They are two of the Legislature's brightest, most innovative conservative minds. As to McCarthy's avowal that he wants no part of any Thomas inspired anti-conservative hi-jinks, this observer thinks conservatives should adopt the same attitude the Gipper had toward the Soviet Union during his negotiations with them: trust but verify.

By the time you read this the month-long legislative session will probably be history. But here in mid-August the strong rumor is that yet another try will be made to revise term limits, and that the skids are greased to make it happen. The vehicle will be Senator Ross Johnson's bill to establish two primaries next year, one in March for presidential candidates, and one in June for all other offices. Once this is done, the plan is to put a constitutional amendment on the March ballot that would "extend" term limits to 12 years in each legislative house.

The kicker for current incumbents is that they would all be "grand-fathered in" under the new limits, their slates wiped clean, and would be able to start their term limit clock again at zero. So all incumbents would be eligible for 24 more years in Sacramento.

And since the Johnson legislation sets the legislative primary for the last Tuesday in June, if the amendment passes at the March primary all current incumbents — including those who would have been termed out under the current law — would have time to file for their seats once again. *Voila!* Senator Johnson is hereby given our "Amazing Kreskin" award.

Your *Spectator* adores Senator Johnson. He has been a great conservative legislator, a legislative leader, and a genuinely nice man for all his years in the Capitol. But this maneuver smacks of smoke-filled rooms and insider deals, of the kind term limits was passed to avoid. A pity that this is the only way the bright bulbs up here could think of to revise the current law.

*— A. P. C.*



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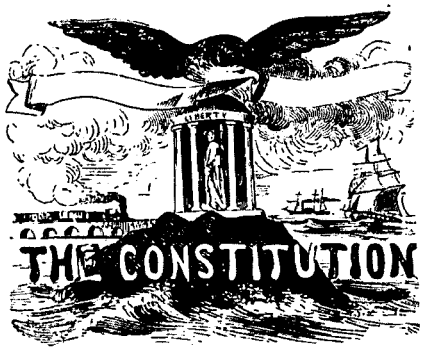
# Will Janice Brown face the Big Stall?

*Democrats who once said no self-respecting senator would lead a filibuster now routinely employ it to stop keep judges committed the rule of law off the federal bench.*

HAROLD JOHNSON

I KNOW MORE than a few California lawyers who have mixed feelings about President Bush's nomination of state Supreme Court Justice Janice Rogers Brown for a seat on the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals. These are fans who admire her courage, convictions, and rare good sense. They agree that those qualities fit her for the nation's most important federal appellate bench, and, indeed, eventually the U.S. Supreme Court if the stars align right.

The downside is that the California Supreme Court will lose a gem of a justice: one its few who understands the property protections in the state and federal constitutions; a believer that law and government policy must be colorblind; and a consistent proponent of leaving lawmaking to lawmakers while confining the court's role to interpreting and applying the constitution and code books.




Her way with words is winning, too. Property-rights advocates groaned last year when the state Supreme Court upheld an extortionate San Francisco law that demands a hefty fee from owners of residential hotels if they want to convert to tourist use. The only thing that brought smiles was Brown's tangy dissent. "Private property, already an endangered species in California, is now entirely extinct in San Francisco," she observed. The City had become a "neo-feudal regime." She reprimanded fellow jurists who have refused to intervene to defend fundamental freedoms: "Turning a democracy into a kleptocracy does not enhance the stature of the thieves; it only diminishes the legitimacy of the government .... The free use of property is just as important as the right to do so through speech, the press, or the free exercise of religion."

"Once again a majority of this court has proved that 'if enough people get together and act in concert, they can take something and not pay for it,'" she wrote. "But theft is theft. Theft is theft even when the government approves of the thievery."

Brown may be best known for her powerful stand for equal rights in a 2000 case applying Proposition 209, the state's constitutional amendment banning race and sex favoritism by government, to strike down a preferential public works program in San Jose. All seven justices agreed that Proposition 209 bars partiality by color or gender in the awarding of contracts. The court issued four separate opinions that expressed the point with varying degrees of clarity and conviction. By far the strongest is Brown's opinion — the Court's main opinion, in which she is joined by three other justices. She gave Proposition 209 the broadest reading, interpreting it to outlaw not just explicit quotas but also race and gender "goals" because "a participation goal differs from a quota or a set-aside only in degree."

She also set the measure in a broader context, hailing it as a statement of the historic principle that no one should be treated better or worse than another on account of race. She quoted the late Yale Law School Professor Alexander Bickel: "(D)iscrimination on the basis of race is illegal, immoral, unconstitutional, in-

*Harold Johnson is an attorney at Pacific Legal Foundation (www.pacificlegal.org). Mark S. Pulliam is taking a leave of absense from* California Political Review.



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# THE FRONT LINE

## Heroes of the Recall

The heroes of the recall — supplying the engine, fuel, and air to make it go — are, in order: the people of California, Darrell Issa, and the idea that a governor should show at least a passing interest in something more than his own career. We borrow the metaphor from Assemblyman Ray Haynes, who wrote in these pages one year ago ("The quiet re-emergence of California Retail Politics," *CPR*, Sept./Oct. 2002) that "money [is] the gasoline that makes the political engine go .... the engine of politics is the volunteer. Ideas are its air."

Gray Davis is California's first statewide office holder to face removal because *the* three political essentials combined the past eight months to form an irresistible force. We will soon see how immovable an object Mr. Davis turns out to be.

First, the people: one reason the recall is followed so avidly within and far beyond California's borders is that the idea of the unruly masses applying adult supervision to the great and powerful is one of humanity's universally compelling plot lines.

It always abounds with comedy: almost immediately upon realizing that a recall would be held, the establishment declared California has *too much democracy* to be governed. Besides the infernal distraction of a Democrat governor having to run again for his office, an initiative (Proposition 13), by requiring a 2/3rds vote for tax increases, was stopping the state budget.

Gridlock! Quagmire! Boiled down, their point was that, even controlling both legislative houses, the executive branch, and having long since tamed the judiciary out of interfering with almost anything it really wanted to do, *the Democrat Party has too little power in California!!*

Irresponsible, incompetent politicians engulfed in a hundred billion dollar spending frenzy; a self-absorbed Davis dodging every tough decision; fire-breathing ideologues devoting most of the government's energy to such concerns as forcing employers to endure employee cross-dressing — nothing was wrong in any of that. No, the state's problem, we were told, was that a rump group of Republican legislators and, in extraordinary circumstances, the citizens themselves still held *any* sort of brake on Democrats' power. A ruling class desperately in need of an alarm clock has been given one by the people, set for October 7.

Next, the fuel: Without Darrell Issa, there would be no recall. What started as a backwater fund raising device for a couple of consultants would have ended as another demoralizing failure. The people are the engine, but no engine runs without fuel. Issa turned a pitchfork and shovel uprising into a full revolution. Conservatives, the GOP, and the state of California owe him a huge debt of gratitude.

Third, the idea: that a governor ought to govern — forget all the hand-wringing about now we'll have a recall every third month. Rose Bird's removal was also going to be followed by wholesale judge dumping. There's something to be said for that, but in any event, it never happened. Like Rose Bird, Gray Davis has gone to extraordinary, almost surreal lengths to bring this on himself. A similar superlative effort will be required for the next recall, and even the clownish Democrats in power are capable of learning from such over-the-top mistakes as Davis has made. One statewide recall in the 100 or so years since Hiram Johnson set the system up; it will likely be another 100 before the next. Enjoy it while you can.

***CPR***



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herently wrong, and destructive of democratic society." Proposition 209, Brown argued, represents a decision by the California electorate to reassert that goal: one of "equal opportunity for all individuals" rather than "entitlement based on group representation."

OF COURSE, while such rulings are a delight to many, they hit a sour note with the left-wing interest groups that have prodded Democrat senators into a confrontational stance on Bush's judicial nominations. So, does the limbo of the filibuster await Janice Brown in D.C.? Even those who don't relish her departure from California's high court don't wish it to be delayed at the hand of Tom Daschle, Ted Kennedy, or Harry Reid.

But don't book your flight for Brown's swearing in at the D.C. appellate court just yet. Even though she is a black woman – even though her story is compelling (the daughter of an Alabama sharecropper, she worked her way through California State University and UCLA Law School) — there is no guarantee Senate Democrats will shrink from subjecting her to the same Big Stall that has been the fate of other conservative appellate-court nominees for months now, such as Miguel Estrada, who recently withdrew from consideration, and Priscilla Owen.

This unprecedented obstruction of the Senate's advise-and-consent role has been accomplished largely because of active complicity from big media. In this case, however, "active" means an aggressive failure to cover the Democrats' refusal to give up-or-down votes to key Bush judicial nominees. When the media isn't ignoring the story altogether, it's framing the controversy as mere politics as usual, nothing to get exercised about. The nasty "G" word ("gridlock"), which echoed through newscasts when a Republican Congress was declining to enact President Clinton's agenda, has gone into hibernation.

A look back brings the double standard into focus. Journalists' ho-hum response to the Democrats' obstructionism would startle a time traveler from the 1950s, '60s or '70s. Back then, hatred of the filibuster

# WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

Where do the recall's key players stand on the Second Amendment?

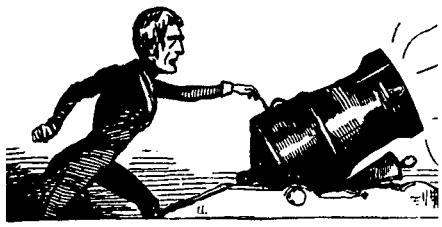
Gun owner groups consider Governor Gray Davis California's most anti-gun governor in history.

Gun Owners of California gave Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamante an "F" rating as a legislator and calls him the most anti-gun candidate among viable contenders to replace Davis.

Among Republicans, Senator Tom McClintock is a Gun Owners "A"-rated candidate. The senator has been a stalwart defender of gun rights throughout his legislative career.

Arnold Schwarzenegger has no voting record, but has spoken to the press about guns. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle,* he says he supports the Second Amendment, but also that he supports the Brady Bill's five-day waiting period on gun purchases and the fraudulently-named federal "assault-weapons" law. Signed by Bill Clinton, this ban singles out guns solely on the basis of how scary-looking they are. As guns, they are no different from perfectly legal semi-automatic rifles. The bill's purpose was to establish the habit of arbitrary government infringement of our freedom. The only assault at all related to this law is its own on the Second Amendment.

The Brady Bill's justification is equally fraudulent. Background checks do not remotely require five days. This second attack on the Second Amendment, also signed by Clinton, is comparable to indirect infringements on free speech and press — limiting the amount of printing a newspaper might do, for instance, justified by some dishonest rationale but actually effectively moving us slowly toward government press censorship.



Schwarzenegger's comments to the press seem to indicate either that he wants it both ways — simultaneously supporting and opposing the right to own guns — or, perhaps more likely, that he has devoted little serious consideration to these issues, but is nonetheless willing to take important stands that could affect millions of peoples' freedom and security without knowing what he is talking about. CPR

*Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.*



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was a prime tenet of liberal faith. The media shared the indignation over what was seen as an illegitimate, anti-democratic relic, a cudgel used only by drawling foes of civil rights and reactionary resisters to government expansion. Year in and year out, from the Eisenhower era to Jerry Ford's, "progressive" senators, cheered on by press and pundits, launched new sorties against the Cloture Rule, the Senate provision that lets a minority drag out "debate" unless and until halted by a super majority vote. In 1975, Reform Turks in the post-Watergate Senate finally succeeded in reducing the vote needed to quash a filibuster from two-thirds of the membership to three-fifths. But even this famous liberal victory fell short of the ideal of scuttling cloture altogether.

OPPOSITION TO the Cloture Rule carried a "sense of moral superiority," as Democrat senatorial aide Eric Redman put it in his celebrated 1973 book, *The Dance of Legislation.* He expressed a common liberal conviction of the time when he wrote, "No self-respecting Senator would ever lead a filibuster."

When the media found a particular filibuster especially odious, vivid techniques could be used to marshal opinion against the interminable talkers. During Southern Democrats' "holding action" against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, each evening's newscast on CBS featured a clock that counted down the lengthening filibuster.

Yet today, when Democrats filibuster to keep a talented Latino lawyer (Estrada) in his place — and to sink the nomination of a reputedly brilliant woman jurist (Owen) — the klieg lights of the Big Three networks are turned off. This may be the first filibuster ever mounted against judicial nominees below the Supreme Court level, but Rather, Jennings, and Brokaw can hardly stifle their yawns.

This isn't all bad news. The very prospect of elbow-jabbing resistance to Bush's selections might make it more likely that more of his nominees will be people of backbone and philosophical ballast — people like Janice Brown. We're sometimes told that the rough-and-tumble of recent Senate confirmation fights threatens to "deter" "good people" from allowing their names to be put forward. Is that really to be regretted? Perhaps the type of lawyers most prone to shrink from a mud-splattering fray are those who serve the nation best by remaining in the tranquil decorum of white-shoe law firms.

With the courts at the center of so many hard-fought, defining social struggles — affirmative action, abortion, the overall reach of federal power — this is not a time to give gavels to the faint of heart. Men and women who flinch at controversy, who crave admission to swank social circles, who value affirmation from *Newsweek, Time,* and the *Washington Post,* are not suited for the battles at hand.

"When great causes are on the move in the world ... something is going on in space and time, and beyond space and time, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty." This famous call to commitment by Churchill should be sewn into the robe of any jurist

## *Can one light a spark?*

Today is the day after Labor Day
And summer's doldrums have all passed away.
The children, thank God, are back in their schools
And we're hearing again from Congress's fools.
Too bad they've come back; the nation would thrive
If hardly a member still was alive.
Few laws would be passed, few speeches be made
And tyranny's hand would briefly be stayed.
Out in the hustings nine Democrats push
For a chance to take on George Dubya Bush.
While Hillary, Gore and General Clark
Are waiting to see if one lights a spark.
And if by Thanksgiving Dean is the one
Look for this trio to join in the fun.
Meantime in the west where nuts and fruits reign
To no one's surprise they're at it again;
Recalling Gray Davis, trying to choose
Someone to govern if Davis should lose.
Schwarzenegger, McClintock, Bustamante--
If Davis should lose, it's one of this three.
McClintock's my choice, but still you should know
I'm glad I don't live in Calif. no mo'.

— by Joy Skilmer*

** The political verse of Joy Skilmer, né Lyn Nofziger, is available at both Barnes and Noble.com and Amazon.com and from MND Publishing, 573 Marina Rd., Deatsville, AL 36022. Keep up with Lyn's "musings" at: www.lynnofziger.com*



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nominated by a conservative president. Justice Clarence Thomas understands. "Finding the right answer is often the least difficult problem," he told the American Enterprise Institute in a 2001 speech. "Having the courage to assert that answer and stand firm in the face of the constant winds of protest and criticism is often much more difficult."

Quoting Alexander Hamilton, Thomas said judges must be people possessing "an uncommon portion of fortitude." Unfortunately, he observed, too many people in public life "show timidity today precisely when courage is demanded."

So a case can be made that the filibusterers and their media enablers unwittingly do service if they scare off the lamb-hearted and the sunshine strict constructionists. For the federal bench, we need candidates who, if they don't exactly view slings and arrows from Barbara Boxer, Chuck Schumer or Ted Kennedy as trophies of honor, at least have character and conviction that will steel them for a fight. Janice Brown, certainly, has to be prepared to stand up for herself. The rest, of course, will be up to the president: He'll have to take the case for common-sense conservative judges to the people, building enough popular pressure that, in the end, it's the filibusterers who fold. CPR

THOSE IN POWER OVER US

# Dealing with loan sharks

*The Legislature's bonds-to-finance-bloated-spending plan violates the constitution, not to mention common sense.*

M. DAVID STIRLING

*To preserve [the] independence [of the people,] we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude.*

— *Thomas Jefferson*

AS I HUSTLE TO MEET my publisher's deadline for this column, the front-page headline of my local newspaper reads: "Davis' support plunges – Nearly 6 in 10 likely voters back his recall, a poll finds." Whatever political fate awaits the governor in the recall election slated for October 7, one thing is certain: our state's unprecedented financial mess is equally the fault of the spendthrift liberals who control the state Legislature. Indeed, the disgrace that the liberal majority has brought upon California is summed-up in a June 2003 *U.S.A Today* analysis on the health of state finances that cites the Golden State as the nation's "worst performing state."

My article, "Destructive Government" (*CPR*, July/August 2003), described how the committed liberals who took control of the Legislature in 1998 had, in just four years, not only exhausted the near-$12 billion surplus they found in the state treasury when they arrived, but had, despite clear and frequent warnings of the dire consequences, spent California into an accumulated deficit of more than $38 billion. While California's population plus inflation grew by a rate of 21 percent in this period, and the state's revenues grew 28 percent, the liberals' spending binge amounted to a whopping 36 percent increase. Thanks to the biggest spenders in state history, California's budget deficit alone is larger than the entire general-fund budgets of every state in the country except New York.

This dismal state of affairs is now exacerbated by the smoke-and-mirrors fix lawmakers imposed through the recently-approved state budget. *Sacramento Bee* political commentator Daniel Weintraub ("Budget is a house of cards," August 3) wrote that "this budget is more a restructuring of debts than a real attempt to arrest the tailspin. The state, in effect,

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has paid off its credit cards by pawning some valuables, getting a second mortgage on its house, and obtaining the rest in a questionable deal with the loan shark down in the seedy part of town."

WEINTRAUB'S FIGURATIVE image of California pawning its valuables, mortgaging its house, and dealing with loan sharks, refers to the centerpiece of the budget plan, which pays off $10.7 billion of the accumulated $38 billion debt through the sale of deficit-reduction bonds repayable to the bond purchasers at a higher-than-normal interest rate over five or more years, beginning next July.

Of this unprecedented bond scheme's many flaws, clearly the most serious – and perhaps fatal – lies in its having been crafted for the Legislature's liberal majority by the attorney general solely to circumvent a state constitutional provision intended to protect the state's taxpayers from a spendthrift Legislature. Article XVI, section 1 of the state constitution, originally offered by Senator Eugene Casserly and adopted at California's 1879 constitutional drafting convention, states that:

> *The Legislature shall not, in any manner create any debt or debts, liability or liabilities, which shall ... exceed the sum of three hundred thousand dollars ($300,000) ... unless the same shall be authorized by law for some single object or work to be distinctly specified therein ...; but no such law shall take effect unless it has been passed by a two-thirds vote of all the members selected to each house of the Legislature and until, at a general election or at a direct primary, it shall have been submitted to the people and shall have received a majority of all votes cast for and against it at such election.*

Senator Casserly and the other authors of this language may be condemned by today's legislative standards as unsophisticated and hopelessly straightforward, but no can question the meaning or intent of what they wrote, which was to restrict future politicians who might be tempted to go on a borrowing binge.

Yet, if their language is as clear and their intent as evident as it appears, how did the $10.7 billion deficit-reduction bond issue become law without being submitted to and approved by a vote of the people in a primary or general election? And how can the Legislature be promoting a sale of bonds, the proceeds from which will be used, not for "some single object or work," like water and parks, transportation, schools, public safety, or other infrastructure project, but to pay the state's past and present operating expenses? Indeed, of the many billions of dollars worth of state bonds sold since Senator Casserly added that section to the constitution, not one was sold to pay day-to-day operating expenses.

As indicated earlier, Attorney General Lockyer crafted the bond scheme for his liberal legislative friends who did not want its proceeds to go to the traditional "single object or work," and who also were not convinced the voters would approve them if given the opportunity. *San Francisco Chronicle* writer Kathleen Pender, in a superbly analytical column headlined "Net Worth" (August 10), wrote that "The state's plan to pay off $10.7 billion in deficit-reduction bonds has been called a shell game, but that's an insult to shells." Even his spokesman described the attorney general's creation as "the most complicated financing scheme known to man."

The spokesman then went on to explain (presumably with a straight-face) his boss's "Alice-in-Wonderland" method of getting around the plain English of Senator Casserly's safeguard provision. "The voter approval (mandate) applies to debt. This is not technically a debt bond. It is something else. It is something new, something different." Apparently the attorney general was able to devise a sort of "mystical" bond that produces capital without borrowing; if there is no borrowing, there is no repayment obligation; and without such obligation no debt is created.

Yet, in the real world, under the age-old principles of finance, the sale of bonds – whether by a government agency or a corporation – constitutes the act of borrowing money from the bond purchasers, who, as lenders, are entitled to repayment of their loans, with interest. There is no way of getting around it; the obligation created by the sale of bonds is, pure and simple, a "debt." As my colleague Harold Johnson wrote July 1 in the *Sacramento Bee:* "Casserly and the other delegates were no-nonsense folks who did not like the idea of government paying its bills by saddling future generations with debt."

A RESPONSIBLE ATTORNEY general, asked to create a legal fiction to skirt constitutional protections, would have answered: "I will not be a party to denying the people the opportunity to vote on whether they will assume $10.7 billion of long-term bonded indebtedness solely to pay the state's ongoing operating expenses." It could have been a Bill Lockyer Profile in Courage. In-



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stead, it was just another example of politics trumping the law.

The bond scheme will be challenged in court. Will politics prevail, or the law? Some will argue – perhaps even in court – that overturning the budget's bond element will make the budget fall, throwing the state into economic chaos. With the state already in turmoil because of the recall, it would be better just to let the bond plan take its course. No doubt ignoring or cleverly bypassing Casserly's language would be easier and more comfortable. But it was, after all, the path of ease-and-comfort that created the state's financial mess in the first place. It is no surprise that this Legislature chose ease-and-comfort over hard choices to resolve its deficit problem. The ease-and-comfort will last a short time at best, at the cost of diminishing over the long-term, and perhaps irreparably, our constitutional protections against undisciplined politicians.

Granting a Legislature that spent the state into a $38 billion debt in four years the further power to fund their caprice by selling bonds will plunge our state into a cycle of permanent debt, literally mortgaging our children's future. We can only hope and trust that the constraints enacted by Senator Casserly and his wise, plain-spoken colleagues 124 years ago stand the test of time.

THE WORKING PRESS

# Taking a prank too far

*After egging him on, reporters seemed shocked they now actually had candidate Schwarzenegger to contend with.*

GEORGE NEUMAYR

Perhaps we can measure the decline of our democracy by the progressively absurd media settings in which politicians announce their candidacies. We have traveled from Ross Perot announcing his candidacy for president on Larry King Live down to Arnold Schwarzenegger announcing his candidacy for California governor on "The Tonight Show" with Jay Leno. Will Comedy Central's news parody program "The Daily Show" be next?

Schwarzenegger's announcement on Leno's show of gags shocked the reporters huddled in the adjacent press room. It is not often that a room of noisy journalists falls silent. Before that moment journalists had been gleefully egging Schwarzenegger on. Suddenly they looked worried, like anxious adolescents who had taken a prank much too far.

♣ ♣ ♣

After the Jayson Blair fiasco, the *New York Times* promised its readers that it wouldn't make stuff up anymore. We won't fake you out again, said publisher Arthur Sulzberger. Then he proceeded to fake them out about the firing of his editor Howell Raines. Sulzberger led them to believe that Raines offered his resignation and he passively accepted it. Not true. Raines told PBS interviewer Charlie Rose that Sulzberger, afraid of a staff mutiny, demanded his resignation.

In other words, even as Sulzberger assured readers that the paper's inaccurate reporting wouldn't continue, he was inaccurately reporting the firing of his editor.

New editor Bill Keller, a self-described "collapsed Catholic" as flagrantly biased as his predecessor (Keller has likened Pope John Paul II's pontificate to a Kremlin regime), can't report events at the *Times* accurately either. "The fraud Jayson Blair committed on us and our readers was not a consequence of our diversity program," writes Keller. Again, not true. Read Raines's own words at a post-Blair *New York Times* powwow early this summer: "Our paper has a commitment to diversity and by all accounts [Blair] appeared to be a promising young minority reporter ... I believe in aggressively providing hiring and career opportunities for

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minorities ... [You] have a right to ask if I, as a white man from Alabama, with those convictions, gave him one chance too many by not stopping his appointment to the sniper team. When I look into my heart for the truth of that, the answer is yes."

Keller's account of the Blair scandal makes no mention of this admission from Raines. Keller's reporting is not even faithful to the internal report, called the Siegal Report (released this summer), in which it appears. The report allows, albeit circuitously, that the Blair scandal stemmed from a diversity program at the *Times* gone haywire: " ... sometimes punches were pulled in dealing with this young reporter for two reasons: One, as one manager described it, was that holding him back while other interns (minority and non-minority) went ahead might be seen as discriminatory. The other was a whiff of favoritism in the newsroom, a sense — advanced by Blair himself — that he had friends in high places at the paper. These sentiments flowed from a perception that some reporters had come to be favored in a 'star system' by the executive editor, Howell Raines, and from the fact that, like Blair, Gerald Boyd, who was then managing editor, is black."

Metro editor Jonathan Landman, in testimony contained in the report, spells the scandal out for Keller: "It was clear that Gerald [Boyd] felt pressure to promote Jayson and that he thought it was the right thing to do. The racial dimension of this issue and Gerald's obvious strong feelings made it especially sensitive; in that sense it is fair to say that I backed off a bit more than I would have if race had not been a factor ... I think race was the decisive factor in his promotion."

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION is a precious dogma to the *New York Times* brass. So much so that they feel entitled to lie about the Blair scandal in order to protect it. How can anyone take seriously the *Times'* promise to tell the truth from now on when its publisher and editor won't tell the truth themselves?

At the end of the Siegal Report appears a ludicrous defense of hiring according to skin pigmentation, "A Note on Affirmative Action, a statement from Roger Wilkins." It too contains a bald-faced lie. Wilkins writes: "The *Times'* recruitment occurs mainly within the context of the American culture, with all of the extraordinary freight that it has accumulated in the 400 years since Europeans first set foot on this continent and encountered the people who already lived here. Essentially that culture taught that white men were the only people qualified to carry out the serious business of the world." Here we have the "newspaper of record" reporting that western civilization is intrinsically racist. Did Jayson Blair ever publish in the *Times* a claim as damaging and outrageous as that one?

Conservatives say the *Los Angeles Times* contains liberal bias. This puzzles the paper's media critics. But guess who agrees with conservatives? *Times* editor John Carroll, according to a memo leaked in late May.

*LAobserved.com* posted a staff memo in which Carroll told editors and reporters that "we are not going to push a liberal agenda in the news pages of the *Times.*" He is "serious" about "purging all political bias from our coverage."

"I'm concerned about the perception — and the occasional reality — that the *Times* is a liberal, 'politically correct' newspaper. Generally speaking, this is an inaccurate view, but occasionally we prove our critics right."

Carroll cited a "front-page story on the bill in Texas that would require abortion doctors to counsel patients that they may be risking breast cancer." He noted the article's blatant unfairness to pro-lifers: "The apparent bias of the writer and/or the desk reveals itself in the third paragraph, which characterizes such bills in Texas and elsewhere as requiring 'so-called counseling of patients.' I don't think people on the anti-abortion side would consider it 'so-called,' a phrase that is loaded with derision."

He also noted that the article made no attempt to treat seriously the view that a link between abortion and breast cancer exists:

"... I wondered as I read it whether somewhere there might exist some credible scientist who believes in it. Such a person makes no appearance in the story's lengthy passage about the scientific issue. We do quote one of the sponsors of the bill, noting that he 'has a professional background in property management.' Seldom will you read a cheaper shot than this. Why, if this is germane, wouldn't we point to legislators on the other side who are similarly bereft of scientific credentials? It is not until the last three paragraphs of the story that we finally surface a professor of biology and endocrinology who believes the abortion/cancer connection is valid. But do we quote him as to why he believes this? No. We quote his political views. Apparently the scientific argument for the anti-abortion side is so absurd that we don't need to waste our readers' time with it." CPR



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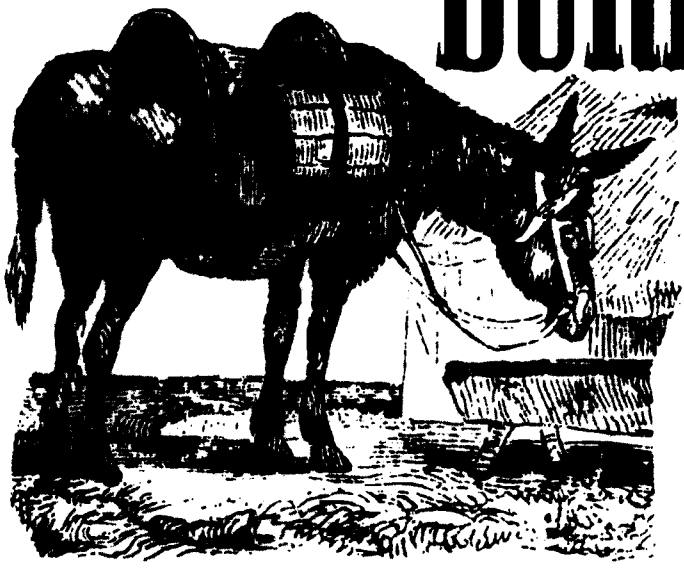
# *Of* BURROS *and the* PILL



H. L. RICHARDSON

Legislators tend to be fad followers. Some have a rare talent for recognizing a coming popular social movement and then circulating the story that they were one of the original gurus who conceived the idea.

Ecology is one such example. One of my colleagues humorously confided in me, "Five years ago I couldn't spell ecology — now I are one!" This particular legislator's district was along the seacoast, and several colleagues inhabited his bailiwick. After an oil spill along the coast, the eco-crowd on the campuses organized student protest demonstrations. Local newspapers joined in and soon the demand for legislative action was deafening.

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The ecologists were outraged. The sea had been contaminated. A number of seagulls had swum through the oily gook and were grounded. The press took a few thousand pictures of soggy birds. The papers across the state printed the story of the plight of fowl and fauna. Students demonstrated, professors denounced big business, and both indicted the decadent system that would allow such a sad situation to develop.

Bird lovers united and my colleague genuflected to the "public" pressure. He immediately introduced, with the appropriate comments, legislation he had been considering for "a long time"; his long association with, and knowledge of, ecological matters made him the best person to author the bill. The press praised his leadership, the ecology crowd accepted him as one of their legislative leaders, and the world had another instant authority.

History is replete with such examples of "leadership." The story goes that during the French Revolution a count was sitting by a window when suddenly a mob of people rushed by. He stood and exclaimed, "There go my people; I am their leader. I must follow them."

Unfortunately, transforming social fads into legislation can be dangerous. Somebody or some group can be



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*A count was sitting by a window when suddenly a mob of people rushed by. He stood and exclaimed, 'There go my people; I am their leader. I must follow them.'*

irreparably harmed. Some pressure groups are expert in creating the impression that they speak for the masses when in reality they are only a vocal minority that know how to work the media.

Legislators who are subject to this kind of pressure react, and once they have committed themselves to action, become locked into the issue. Even though they would like to change, they feel committed to maintain their position. It is easier to justify a bad vote than to admit error.

I believe the ecological issue is one that the Legislature had transformed into a Frankenstein. In the last few decades, a great deal of injustice has been perpetrated in the name of ecology. Some legislators have blindly supported every bill with an ecology label attached.

Legislators are prone to go along because voting against "the environment" can quickly get one labeled anti-Mother Nature. To oppose an ecological issue it to be painted as a defiler of the environment, a captive of exploiting business, and a hater of future generations.

A bevy of social reformers and antibusiness special-interest groups have seized upon the ecology issue as protective coloration for their social legislation. Environment protection has been conveniently used to cover a wealth of land-management schemes.

Let me give you a tangible example. Some residents in a rural area close to Sacramento resented the fact the area was becoming more populated. The area was, at that time, zoned for one-acre development and many people had homes on one-acre tracts. The surrounding terrain was still undeveloped, so is wasn't unusual to see a man perched on a one-acre plot with fifty acres of undeveloped land next to his property. He had, in effect, the benefit of the solitude that the undeveloped land provided.

The 50-acre plots were rapidly being subdivided, so many of those who lived on one-acre plots got together and formed groups to protect the "outdoor environment" of their area. "We must preserve the wildlife of the area," they cried. "We must maintain green belts near our cities," they stated. "We must keep nature in its raw form whenever possible," they explained.

Their answer: Rezone the area into five-acre parcels.

Developers couldn't afford to break up the existing acreage into parcels at that time; the market wasn't there. Many people could afford one-acre plots, as could those who were there first, but not five acres.

Do you think these local ecologists went before the local supervisors and told them the truth? Can you imagine one of them getting up and testifying that what they really wanted was the use of someone else's property without having to pay for it? Hardly! It was much simpler to become a concerned ecologist and mouth the clichés. The supervisors went along, because who wants to be against ecology? Sometimes, well-meaning do-gooders can go to extremes posing as friends of wildlife.

Several years ago the California Department of Fish and Game and several legitimate outdoor organizations came to me with a bill calling for Fish and Game Department control over wild burros. California has a lot of wild jackasses, four-legged and other. The wild variety is prolific and constitutes quite a problem to game management. They have no natural enemies and have grown disproportionately in relation to other wild desert animals.

They came to California with the prospectors and remained after the prospectors left. They foraged well, and without natural enemies, proliferated. They are ornery critters. They will chase other animals away from desert water holes and consume foliage needed for the survival of other wildlife. Maintaining a balance with the wild burros has been difficult. The desert sheep have been severely affected by the increased burro population, since they forage off the same vegetation. Two species of desert bighorn sheep have disappeared forever because of the competition for habitat.

I was asked to introduce legislation to grant the Department of Fish and Game the authority to keep the burro population under control in proportion to the other competing species. It made sense to me and who better to recommend it than the Department of Fish and Game?



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I soon found out there were some vocal jackass lovers in California, and they were all present when my bill was presented in the Fish and Game committee.

I was portrayed as the killer of wildlife, the destroyer of the prospector's best friend, the jackass. Didn't I have any compassion for the offspring of those noble beasts who helped to win the West? I was a murderer of California heritage, a destroyer of the desert's most lovable beastie.

One portly woman testified, "You have never lived unless you have ridden your ass down the side of a desert mountain."

Another matronly witness was "shocked" and "horrified that grown men could possibly contemplate the destruction of the wild burro." Our duty was to save all animals from destruction.

I asked, "How are we going to 'save' the lives of the desert sheep and deer now starving to death unless we control the burro population?"

She smiled, paused, looked at each legislator on the committee and triumphantly stated, "Senator, we have science on our side!"

"Science?" someone asked.

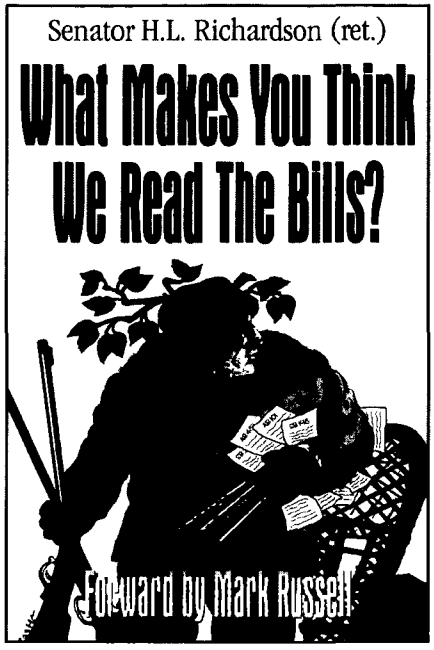
"Yes, science! We now can control the birthrate with The Pill!" She beamed, obviously proud of her solution. I had some doubts that wild jenny borrows would voluntarily comply with taking birth-control pills on a regular basis. Jackasses will be jackasses. I could imagine Fish and Game wardens sneaking around the desert trying to corner wild jennies with a knapsack of birth-control pills in one hand and a rope in the other and the worry of what would happen once they caught one.

After a moment of silence, one of my colleagues ventured forth, "How, madam, do you intend administering birth-control pills to a wild bunch of jackasses?"

"That's your concern," she responded. "Science has given us the solution, you should be smart enough to work out the details. Why, you could put the pills in the water holes, as one solution. I'm sure there are many others!" Without waiting for any further questions, she rose from the witness table and walked triumphantly back to her seat in the audience amidst the thunderous applause of her friends.

I managed to get my burro-control bill out of committee by a narrow vote and onto the floor of the senate. In the intervening time, the friends of the burros had been button-holing legislators from the urban areas and had instigated a few letters in behalf of the jacks and the jennies.

When I took the bill up before the entire senate, I found myself confronted with stiff opposition from my colleagues, mainly the Democrats. I was jokingly accused of assaulting their party's symbol; they exclaimed, the "real intent of the legislation was partisan symbolism." The braying continued against my bill for what seemed to be hours. The burros became an ecological issue. Destruction of wildlife was argued. Killing of innocent animals. By the time the debate was over, the jackass had replaced the dog as man's best friend. I lost the bill handily. Few legislators were willing to grant the Fish and Game department the power to destroy the symbol of the Democratic Party and man's best friend. The fact that the overpopulating desert jackasses were killing off other wildlife was lost in the oratory of the day.




I licked my wounds and contemplated the kicking I had received on the floor of the senate, concluding that there were as many jackasses in Sacramento as in our deserts. The jackass population, at last count, is still growing out of control in our deserts and, I might add, in Sacramento as well.

Probably the most symbolic *cause célèbre* of the eco-movement has been the campaign to "save" the condor. This giant throwback to prehistoric times is the feathery symbol of the ecological liberal. Maybe it is because the "save-the-condor movement" was the first genuinely successful case advocated by the political protectionists and their friends.

Now, don't misunderstand me. I have no objection to anyone protecting anything that is dear to his heart. Folks can protect to their hearts' content any creepy thing that strikes their fancy. I believe in the right of individuals doing whatever they desire, as long as they don't step on others in the process or as long as they don't protect their "thing" with money extracted by the force of government. Some people want to protect other natural resources like gold and silver, diamonds, rubies, steel, lead, copper or pieces of green parchment paper with engraved pictures of Presidents.

Unfortunately, liberal protectionists want to save their



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thing at someone else's expense. The save-the-condor movement was a classic example.

First, I think it is important to know a little about the bird. The condor is not a bird that is about to become extinct. South America and Mexico are filled with condors. It is a strong probability, however, that they would soon become extinct in California if they weren't coddled as they are. Condors are unique — they cannot exist around populated areas. They need solitude. They are so stupid that if they are disturbed by man while they are nesting, off they fly, sometimes forgetting where their nests are.

The condor is a large species of buzzard. They live off dead animals. In other words, they are scavengers. The reason for their existence is to clean up the carrion in the central valley of California. Before settlers came and made the central valley an agricultural giant feeding the world's population, the valley was the haven for valley elk, deer and grizzly bears. The condor was the huge hunchbacked scavenger vulture that cleaned up the stinking carcasses.

The condor's decline in California was in direct proportion to the human population growth. The big buzzards retreated into the foothills at the base of the San Joaquin Valley. There they could be seen soaring aloft on the connective hot-air currents of the lower valley. Except for size, they are not much more discernable from their more sociable counterpart, the vulture. Only a bird watcher could tell the difference.

At this point I say bravo to all the condor savers. If someone wants to save the big buzzard for posterity, be my guest! Go out and buy the land, feed them with purchased dead carrion, and garner the support of all the culture lovers to contribute to the cause. If buzzards are one's thing, go to it! Unfortunately, the condor crowd wanted to save the bulky buzzard at someone else's expense.

The California condor is now saved. Approximately 50 of the birds exist somewhere in the primitive areas close to Santa Barbara. Restricted areas are maintained for the vested vulture. Mead is purchased, at taxpayer's expense, and deposited within their private domain so they can survive. Thousands of acres are their private preserve. We have spent millions to protect these big buzzards for posterity, which, translated, means some future group of bird-watchers will have governmentally subsidized bird-watching.

If condor-watching by the public (since they pay the bill) is what's important, then I would suggest that we shoot the remaining condors and stuff them. They could then be strategically placed beside freeways around the state and more people would see the condor in five minutes than would observe them under the present circumstances within the next five hundred years. It certainly would be a lot less costly, and millions of Californians would have a chance to see what their tax dollar bought them.

*The condor was the protectionists' best selection to symbolize their movement. It lives off carcasses, remains aloft by soaring on hot air, deserts its nest when confused ....*

The condor was the best selection the protectionists could have chosen to symbolize their movement. The big prehistoric buzzard lives off carcasses, dead and rotting flesh. It remains aloft by soaring on hot air. It deserts its nest when confused and its defense mechanism is vomiting rotten, semi-digested carrion on its opposition. The condor is a proper symbol for liberals who demand that their preferences be fed by the labor of others.

The ecological crowd has made the condor a motherhood issue. To attack the righteousness of a government program to save the feathery thing is tantamount to running a smear campaign against Disneyland.

Legislators bought the package and are now out to save salamanders, garden snakes, and all sorts of crawlies. It is a mark of distinction to be the author of a savior issue. We even have a group formed to protect weeds. So, whatever turns you on ...

I have a great deal of respect for the hunter. He yearly contributes to the preservation and perpetuation of certain wildlife by the purchase of a hunting license, and voices little concern when part of the money is used to protect certain endangered species. He is putting his money up and purchasing a service in return. It is strictly voluntary.

I introduced legislation that would have allowed the protectionists the right to purchase a license for the preservation of the non-game animals. It died in the first committee. Why? The lobby against it came from ... guess where? That's right, the eco-crowd. I am not too sure that our ecology friends are willing to put their money where their mouths are. It is much easier and personally cheaper to get some other sucker to pick up the tab — as long as we have legislators who will slavishly follow fads and finance them with taxpayers' dollars. CPR



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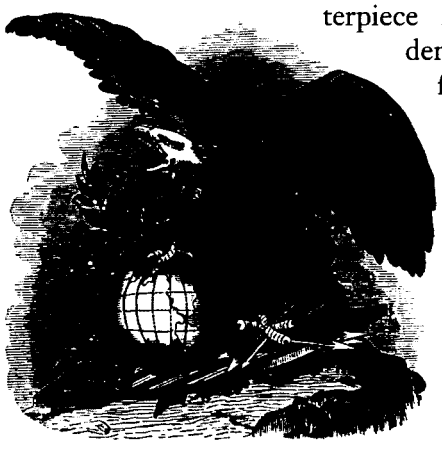
# Remember Dresden but honor the bombardiers

**WHO LIVES BY THE SWORD DIES BY THE SWORD**

**BY GIDEON KANNER**

G. B. Tennyson's observations about German revisionism ("Revisionism 101," *CPR*, July/August 2003) were quite good and timely. Since some younger readers may not remember these events, I would like to make some additional points on the bombing of Dresden.

Dispatches from Germany indicate that the latest manifestation of the anti-American spirit currently abroad there is the publication of a new book by Jörg Friedrich entitled *The Fire*, that seeks to elicit sympathy for German suffering during the Allied bombing raids on German cities in World War II. As might be expected, the British-led air raid on Dresden that largely destroyed that Baroque city, killing some 30,000 of its inhabitants, is the centerpiece in an effort to demonstrate that far from being the only "heavies" of World War II, the Germans suffered too. The current German argument capitalizes on the conventional wisdom that Dresden was militarily unimportant, and that its bombing, particularly toward the end of the war when German fortunes were at their lowest, was an unnecessary and brutish act of vindictiveness on the part of the Allies. The problem with that view is that it ignores history, it disregards the nature of World War II, how it was fought by both sides, and what the stakes were.



It was the Germans who first devised and unleashed strategic bombing of cities. From the outset of the war, the German *Luftwaffe* did its best to destroy Allied cities, London, Warsaw, and Rotterdam being notable examples. The British city of Coventry was largely reduced to rubble by German bombers. Thus, when the Allies responded in kind and began strategic bombing of German cities, they were only responding to the kind of war that the Germans had thrust upon on them.

The targeting of cities was a horrible but not an irrational strategy. Large cities are communications and transportation centers. They are the sites of industries vital to the war effort, and the morale of their populations can be an

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important factor in a country's willingness to continue waging war. And so, if Germany wound up on the receiving end of its own strategy, that was only a reminder of the age-old wisdom that he who lives by the sword, dies by it. Indeed, in the historical context, for Germans to complain about the Allies responding in kind to German bomber attacks on Allied cities, is breathtaking *chutzpah*. In the moral calculus of the 1940s, when tens of millions of people were dying horrible deaths at the hands of Germans who were determined to bring their vicious brand of autocracy and racial dominance over the rest of the world, the Allies' response in kind was appropriate and no more than just deserts.

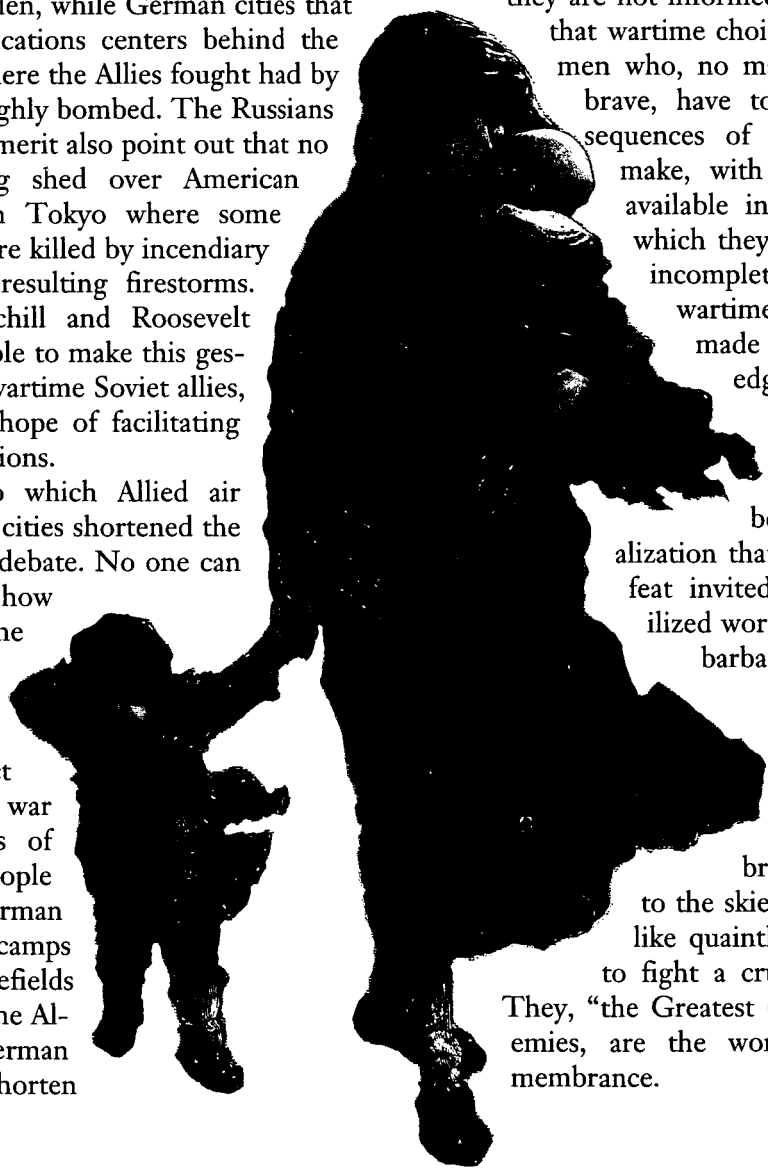
Apart from military considerations, the motivation for the bombing of Dresden was also to appease the Soviets who were unhappy that the Germans were able to direct their resistance to the advancing Red Army from an undamaged Dresden, while German cities that formed communications centers behind the Western front where the Allies fought had by then been thoroughly bombed. The Russians could with some merit also point out that no tears were being shed over American bomber raids on Tokyo where some 80,000 people were killed by incendiary bombs and the resulting firestorms. Evidently, Churchill and Roosevelt thought it desirable to make this gesture toward our wartime Soviet allies, in the mistaken hope of facilitating post-war negotiations.

The extent to which Allied air raids on German cities shortened the war is subject to debate. No one can tell for sure how much longer the war would have lasted without them. But the incontestable fact is that as the war ground on, tens of thousands of people were dying in German concentration camps and on the battlefields every day. So if the Allied raids on German cities helped shorten the war by only a couple of weeks, they were a net saver of lives.

Last but not least, as we reflect on the broader lessons of Dresden, if any there be beyond a reaffirmation of the verity that war is hell, let us not forget the courage of the young Allied airmen who flew the missions against Germany and suffered horrendous casualties in the process, with no medical assistance available for many hours. Allied bombers had to endure devastating anti-aircraft fire and attacks by German fighter planes, with only limited ability to fight back effectively. It was not until near the end of the war that the Allies were able to send long-range fighters of their own in an effort to protect the bombers even part way to their targets.

It is easy for armchair strategists to make glib moral judgments more than a half century after the fact, without an appreciation of brutal wartime realities. Such judgments are inherently flawed when they are not informed by a clear understanding that wartime choices are inevitably made by men who, no matter how smart and how brave, have to be fearful of the consequences of the decisions they must make, with the knowledge that the available intelligence information on which they have to be based may be incomplete or even false. Still, in wartime those decisions must be made with the awesome knowledge that either way the price in human lives and misery will be steep. In World War II they also had to be made with the grim realization that to err on the side of defeat invited catastrophe for the civilized world at the hands of the Nazi barbarians.

So if you must shed a tear over the Allied bombing raids on Germany, shed it over the lost lives and maimed bodies of those brave young men who took to the skies in what today must seem like quaintly archaic flying machines, to fight a cruel war to keep you free. They, "the Greatest Generation," not their enemies, are the worthy objects of your remembrance. CPR





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# Hiram Johnson's gift to California

*Five veteran political writers and Party leaders consider, from a variety of perspectives, the question: How should Republicans approach the October 7 recall election? The authors, in order of appearance, are Rush Limbaugh, Assemblyman John Campbell, Senator H.L. Richardson, ret., William E. Simon, Jr., and Shawn Steel. Under the heading "Equal Time," CPR reprints portions relevant to the recall of Senator Dianne Feinstein's August 6 announcement that she would not run (page 22).*

## RUSH LIMBAUGH — CALIFORNIA NEEDS CONSERVATISM

Listening to some Republicans and conservatives on the possibility of winning the California governorship lately has been dismaying. "We don't really want to win this race. California is in such a mess it can't be fixed and we will be tagged as failures if we try. Let the Democrats continue to stew in their mess." Or a variation on this theme: "Whoever wins will not have a mandate so he/she will not be able to govern, especially with the huge Democrat majorities in the California Legislature."

We conservatives didn't get where we are today with this kind of thinking and we can't lead in the future with this attitude.

* * *

California is a liberal proving-ground run amok. Its crushing debt — resulting from years of pandering to unions, bureaucrats, illegal immigrants, environmentalists, and trial lawyers — has led to huge tax increases, major cuts in basic services, a reduction in the state's credit rating, brown-outs, water shortages, and a large exodus of citizens from the state.

None of this decay is surprising. The left's promises of Nirvana never measure up. But what does surprise me are the reactions of some conservatives who see California's problems as so severe that they can't be solved by the application of conservative principles. Their thinking has led them to support Arnold Schwarzenegger, who, to my knowledge, has yet to embrace any conservative positions, though he has embraced Warren Buffett. *Hasta la vista*, whatever.

There's no better time to advance conservative principles than when they're most needed. And California needs a large dose of conservatism. Recent history should be our guide.

During the presidency of Jimmy Carter, inflation, unemployment, and interest rates were double-digit. OPEC held sway over the U.S. economy. In the dead of winter, Mr. Carter urged Americans to lower thermostats, wear sweaters, and sleep with an extra blanket. He lectured the public to lower its expectations, and

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*Rush Limbaugh is a nationally syndicated talk radio host. This article originally appeared in* The Wall Street Journal *August 20, 2003, at URL: http://online.wsj.com/article/0,,SB106134447386826800,00.html Reprinted by permission of Rush Limbaugh.*



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spoke of a "malaise" in which he blamed Americans for his own leadership failures.

America's predicament was no better abroad. Communism was on the march in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Angola. The United States lost a key ally in Iran, eventually resulting in a disgraceful hostage crisis lasting 444 days.

What conservative would want to be president under these dire circumstances, right? Well, of course, we know that Ronald Reagan wanted the job. He espoused unequivocally conservative principles and policies. He was confident that strong leadership, free enterprise, limited government, tax cuts, and a strong defense were the solutions. And most of all, he believed in the inherent character and fortitude of the American people. He understood that it was freedom, the natural yearning of the human spirit, that propelled people to pursue excellence — so long as government obstacles were swept aside. Mr. Reagan's often-expressed optimism and confidence in the American people was infectious and inspired millions of Americans to attack a recession and defeat it.

Within hours of his inauguration, President Reagan froze federal hiring. He also deregulated oil prices, which weakened OPEC's grip — increasing supply and lowering costs. Moreover, fearing Ronald Reagan's wrath, the Iranian regime released its American hostages.

During the first summer of his presidency, Mr. Reagan forced through Congress, including a Democrat-controlled House, the most broad-based and significant tax cut in American history, thereby unleashing unprecedented economic prosperity for the next two decades. Who would have thought that possible?

And at the same time, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization ordered its membership to strike illegally, in hopes of shutting down air travel in an effort to force Mr. Reagan to meet its demands. The president's response to this blackmail: Within 48 hours he fired nearly 70 percent of the strikers, and he had Patco decertified.

Mr. Reagan's conservatism didn't end at the water's edge. Despite enormous opposition from congressional Democrats, he pushed back the Soviet Union on all fronts. In 1983, at the height of the nuclear freeze protests, he deployed the first Pershing intermediate-range ballistic missiles in West Germany in response to the Soviet targeting of missiles at Western Europe.

In 1986, the president ordered an attack on Libya in response to its bombing of a German nightclub in which several Americans were killed, showing the world that savagery against Americans would be punished.

Mr. Reagan rebuilt the military and launched the Strategic Defense Initiative, which is not only a key aspect of America's present-day defense structure, but helped break the back of Soviet Communism and freed hundreds of millions imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain. No one had thought this possible either. Unfortunately, some still regret it. You know who you are.

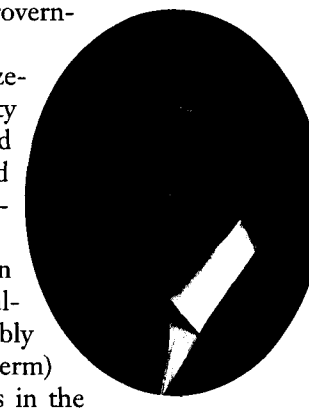
It's important to remember that each of these bold actions was met with skepticism and derision. In fact, Mr. Reagan himself was met with the same reaction during his entire public career — including his earlier unsuccessful campaigns for the presidency. But he stuck by his principles. He believed in them. He championed them. He saw opportunity where others despaired. He saw challenges where others surrendered.

Conservatives need to learn from Ronald Reagan. They need to stop being timid, pessimistic, and insecure. California needs solutions. There is no better time and place to establish and illustrate the primacy of conservatism. True, not all of California's problems mirror those of the late '70s and '80s, but many do, particularly those that forced this recall. Now, if one man with a vision completely changed the course of a nation, why can't it happen in a single state?

## JOHN CAMPBELL — YES ON RECALL; YES ON ARNOLD

I am a conservative and an unabashed one at that. I believe in our principles, our cause, and the inherent ethics of our movement. And I am strongly supporting Arnold Schwarzenegger for governor. I furthermore believe that conservatives should unite in our support for Arnold and I would like to tell you why.

Even though Schwarzenegger announced his candidacy on the Jay Leno show, I have often enjoyed David Letterman's "top ten" lists. So, here is my list of "top ten reasons" why conservatives should support Arnold for governor.



#10) A Governor Schwarzenegger would have the ability to use his celebrity and unique persona to reach and attract new voters to the Republican Party.

#9) Schwarzenegger can help the president win California in 2004 (which probably guarantees him a second term) and help us to pick up seats in the state Legislature like no other candidate.

#8) After spending several days with Arnold over the

*John Campbell represents California's 70th Assembly District. He is vice-chairman of the Assembly Budget Committee and one of Mr. Schwarzenegger's economic advisors.*



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last few weeks, I can tell you that he is very bright, determined, and courageous. And there is no question he is a man of integrity who is owned by no one.

#7) I don't want a governor who just stops more bad liberal ideas from becoming law. I want to see that governor move California forward even in the face of a Legislature controlled by the opposing Party. Because of who he is, Schwarzenegger will be able to get coverage for his agenda across mainstream media that typically ignore California politics. The 6 o'clock local news programs in LA will cover his proposals on worker's compensation reform even if there is a car chase that night. And Democrats who continue to resist the will of the people so thoroughly communicated will do so at their political peril.

#6) Arnold is a fiscal conservative. If you've heard his statements about being overtaxed, the Davis Democrats' overspending, his staunch support for Proposition 13, and his support for a constitutional limit on the growth of state spending, this conclusion is clear. And it is one of the reasons The Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association (PAC) has endorsed Arnold for governor.

#5) Arnold told me a story about how in 1968, 15 years before becoming a U.S. citizen, he knew he was a Republican. His friend, a fellow Austrian immigrant, was attempting to convince Arnold that he should become a Democrat. After hearing his friend describe Democrat's support for a weak military and tax and spend policies, he was reminded of socialist states in Europe. He knew then that he was a Republican and has stayed one ever since.

#4) Arnold has remained a Republican despite all the influence of Hollywood. We have heard stories from others of how being a Republican in Hollywood has damaged their careers. In spite of these or whatever pressures he encountered, Arnold has been a Republican through it all. That means that he is not with us just because it's convenient. He is with us because he believes in it.

#3) Do I agree with Arnold on all issues? Of course not. If that were my litmus test for support I would never endorse anyone but myself. And he will not line up with every conservative on all issues, but Governor Schwarzenegger's agenda will be in sync with conservatives eight out of ten times. Which, of course, is about eight times more than Cruz Bustamante.

#2) He can win. And if conservatives and Republicans rally around him, he will win.

#1) If we allow Bustamante to slip through in this recall, we will be condemned as a state to three more years of the same failed policies and special interest pandering that we have seen in the last five. That means more people will lose their jobs. More businesses that people have spent a lifetime or maybe generations building will fail. And we will witness the continued fiscal and moral decay of our state. We can stop it. We have to stop it. And Arnold Schwarzenegger is the best opportunity to do so.

*Ronald Reagan stuck by his principles.*
*He believed in them. He championed them.*
*He saw opportunity where others despaired.*
*He saw challenges where others surrendered.*
*— Rush Limbaugh*

My very conservative 88-year-old mother told me something just after Arnold announced he was running. She said she and my father had been Taft Republicans in the early '50s. They agreed with him on many issues. But after 20 years of Democrat presidents, they were tired of losing. So, in 1952 they voted for Eisenhower. And he won. And Republicans began to come back in national politics. She told me that it was time to begin that resurgence in California. She was going to vote for Schwarzenegger October 7. And so am I.

I hope you will join me and other conservatives like Congressman Chris Cox and Dana Rohrbacher in supporting Arnold for governor. CPR

## H.L. RICHARDSON — POLITICALLY CLIPPED

The barbershop was empty of customers. Three barbers were present, two leaning on their chairs and one slumped casually in his, with his right leg straddled over one arm. My sudden appearance had interrupted a lively political discussion. All three smiled and gave me a "pick me" look. I chose the one looking most alert, and before the paper collar and bib had circled my neck, the heated debate resumed.

The object of discussion? The Gray Davis recall. All three barbers were for it, venting their ire on Davis for the blackouts of the prior year, the proposed increase of vehicle taxes, and politicians in general. They were well aware of the $38 billion debt and didn't like the prospect of higher taxes. However, none of them understood how the recall worked, or much about the potential candidates.

They all knew that Arnold Schwarzenegger would be a candidate. No other name was bandied about. The sandy-haired barber was a real fan of the "Terminator" and thought he would be a good governor. I couldn't help myself; I had to plunge into the conversation, so I asked the three barbers a question.

"What if you were in a strange town and in need of a

*H. L. "Bill" Richardson served in the California Senate from 1966 until 1988. A chapter from his book:* What Makes You Think We Read The Bills? *appears on page 13 of this issue.*



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hair cut. You spotted a small one-chair barbershop and stepped inside. The barber had a pleasant and charming personality. He was delighted to greet you and, as you sat in his chair, he placed the apron about you and joyfully exclaimed, "You, sir, are my first customer."

"Today?" you replied.

"Oh, no," he bubbled, "the first ever!"

"Are you right out of barber school"

"No," he cheerfully boasted, "never attended one."

"Then you learned how in another barber shop?"

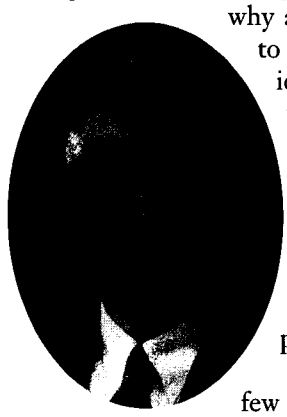
"Nope! Saw it done on television and it looked so easy, thought I'd try it myself." Then the charming barber exclaimed, "With this first haircut I'm offering a free shave." He then flashed a straight-edged razor before your eyes remarking, "Saw it done in a John Wayne movie."

I asked the three wide-eyed barbers, "Would you let him cut your hair and give you a shave?"

Each gave a few graphic and colorful comments on just how fast they would have removed their fannies from the chair.

"Why not?" I coyly asked. "He's seen hair cuts made in the movies."

The sandy-haired barber blurted out: "He had no experience barbering." The other two nodded solemnly in agreement. "Why then," I asked, "if you are unwilling to have a man clip your hair with no experience, why are you willing to elect a man to one of the most difficult political jobs in the world, someone who has had no experience at all in government?"



Collectively, not one of the three had an answer to my question. One finally murmured, "Ronald Reagan was a good governor and he had no prior experience."

I answered, "Not for the first few years he wasn't. In Reagan's

## Equal Time

# Reject The Recall

## Dianne Feinstein

*This excerpt from Senator Dianne Feinstein's August 6 statement declining to run for governor omits only her remarks not directly related to the recall election itself:*

After thinking a great deal about this recall, its implications for the future, and its misguided nature, I have decided that I will not place my name on the ballot.

First and foremost, I deeply believe the recall is a terrible mistake and will bring to the depth and breadth of California instability and uncertainty, which will be detrimental to our economic recovery and decision-making. This recall demonstrates that virtually anyone with $1.5 million can hire professional petition gatherers certain to produce enough signatures to force a recall of any state elected officials. This sets a terrible precedent which ought to cause us all to think very carefully.

Additionally, it is now becoming apparent that there may well be dozens of candidates on the recall ballot, most of whom have no background or knowledge of the State's enormous portfolio of issues – whether it be the $99 billion budget, the numerous pieces of legislation awaiting signature or veto by the governor, or the thousands of pending appointments to critical judgeships and important State posts.

Indeed, few of these candidates know much about the law enforcement needs of the State or the security risks we face in the war against terror.

Few understand the myriad of challenges facing California's public schools.

And, I would hazard a guess that if you asked these candidates what the Healthy Families program is, how it is funded, and how it benefits the State, the vast majority would have no idea what you are talking about. And that's not to mention the enormously complicated Medicaid issues that face the State.

And, yet, if the recall is successful, the next governor could well have but 15 percent of the vote – certainly not a mandate for tough decision-making.

This is a time when our attention should be focused on working in a bipartisan manner to solve the State's fiscal crisis, to fix our public schools, to increase public safety, and to restore California's economy.

Sadly, the State is instead going to be engaged in an election that is becoming more and more like a carnival every day.

Nine months ago, 3.5 million Californians voted in a fair election to reelect Governor Davis. I believe he should be given the opportunity to finish his term. I strongly urge all Californians to vote against this recall.

I hope as the next two months unwind, the frivolous nature of this recall will become more apparent as well as the dark repercussions sure to follow.



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***The new governor needs to know the players, the professional career civil servants who manage the bureaucracy, the legislators who can be trusted and those who can't, the lobbyists who have influence, the special interest folks who roam the halls.***

***— H.L. Richardson***

first year, rather than cutting government spending, he increased taxes. Shortly thereafter, he signed a liberal Democrat's bill making abortion legal in California, a horrible choice he later regretted.

"When he took over the governor's office, the state's credit was excellent and its economy was healthy. Ronald Reagan's first-year budget was $4 billion. The new governor of 2003 will face a massive multi-billion dollar deficit, a horrible state credit rating, and an imbedded, multi-faceted bureaucracy, not to mention an antagonistic left-wing Legislature. In 1966 we could afford an 'earn while you learn' governor, do you think we could afford one now?"

"Does that mean we should keep Gray Davis?" they asked.

"To the contrary," I replied, "Gray Davis has clearly displayed that he can't handle the job and is largely responsible for the trouble we're in. It means California voters better shop around and find an experienced governmental barber, one who knows where to cut and what to trim, not to mention who to hire and who to fire. The new governor needs to know the players, the professional career civil servants who manage the bureaucracy, the legislators who can be trusted and those who can't, the lobbyists who have influence, the good and the bad, and the special interest folks who roam the halls. He should know that politics has its fair share of smooth-talking incompetents who will try to schmooze their way into the new governor's staff. He has to understand that politics negates Murphy's Law. It's a universe where one can rise far above his level of competence and stay there. Our present governor proves that.

"Today, the new head of state needs to know a lot up front or he will lose his behind, and ours with it."

"Is there such a person?" they asked?

"Yes there is. Senator Tom McClintock." CPR

## PETER V. UEBERROTH NON-PARTISAN PROBLEM-SOLVER

CPR *was unable to obtain an original article from a supporter of candidate Peter V. Ueberroth by press time. Instead, we provide information on Mr. Ueberroth available at his campaign web site, www.peterforgovernor.com*

*From Mr. Ueberroth's August 8 Candidate Statement:*

As 1984 Los Angeles Olympics President, I earned the *Time* Magazine Man of the Year Award. Previous Olympics were financial disasters. The 1976 Olympics virtually bankrupted Montreal. In California's Olympics, not one cent of taxpayer funds was used. Youth sports are still funded from the $200,000,000+ Olympic surplus. Olympic glory was restored.

Democratic Mayor Tom Bradley and Republican President Ronald Reagan worked closely with me — with no partisan bickering. Thousands of Californians turned around the Olympics. They collectively deserve the credit.

I also served as Baseball Commissioner. When I started, 22 teams were losing money. The sport was in trouble. Five years later, no team was losing money. Ticket prices had not increased.

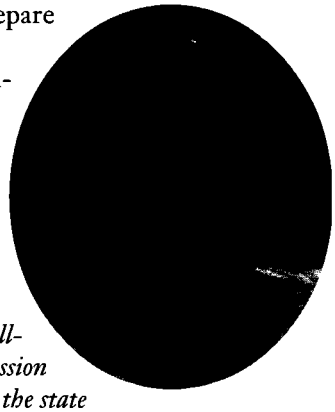
Our state faces a similar situation. Government has created a lethal job and business-killing machine. California is in an economic death spiral. We must turn our state around. The good news: we can turn California around.

Partisan warfare must end. So, mine will be a bipartisan, independent administration. I absolutely commit not to seek re-election. This means I will spend no time campaigning, raising money, or pandering to special interests. It means I can make tough decisions.

California has been good to me. Educated in Northern California public schools, I farm in the Central Valley, and now reside in Southern California. I have had many business successes, and a few failures. Both helped prepare me for this job.

I will not accept a salary.

Working together, God willing, we will restore California's glory. I respectfully ask for your vote. Thank you.



*August 25 statement on calling an 'emergency' special session of the Legislature to balance the state budget:*

SACRAMENTO — Former Olympics President and gubernatorial candidate Peter Ueberroth made his first trip as a candidate to Sacramento today, announcing a three-pronged plan to restore California's state budget to health. Ueberroth's proposal was highlighted by a promise to call an 'emergency' special session of the state Legislature on his first day in office, to address a deficit in next year's budget that has already been es-



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timated as being between $8-10 billion.

"Every day we wait, California slides further into debt. Every dollar we save now helps us eliminate the deficit. It's irresponsible to delay fixing the budget until next spring," said Ueberroth, who also committed to calling a concurrent special session on jobs creation legislation. "The sooner we get spending, in line with revenues ... the sooner we balance the state's budget."

Ueberroth also challenged legislators to agree to a voluntary ban on campaign fundraising for the duration of the special session, in order to allow them to avoid the distractions and pressures from donors with legislative interests.

"The men and women of the California Legislature are good, decent, and talented people," said Ueberroth. "We want to give them the tools to do their jobs without pressure from special interests. They need to be able to cast difficult votes without worrying about who's coming to their fundraiser that night."

Ueberroth indicated that he would ask for legislation in January to extend the fundraising limitations through his three remaining years in office. The legislation would forbid any campaign fundraising during legislative sessions each year until a budget had been passed. After leaving office, he would leave it to the legislators to decide whether to extend or abandon the limitations.

The third and potentially most important element of Ueberroth's plan was a commitment to impose a cap on increases in state budget spending. Calling the proposal "The Taxpayer Bill of Rights," Ueberroth said he would ask legislators to place the constitutional amendment on the March 2004 Primary ballot. Although the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association is developing a similar ballot measure for November of next year, Ueberroth made it clear that early action was of critical importance.

"If California had put a spending cap in place five years ago, the state would now have a multi-billion dollar surplus, rather than the current deficit," Ueberroth said. "Let's not make that mistake again." CPR

## BILL SIMON — DON'T FORGET WHAT THE RECALL IS ALL ABOUT

All recall — all the time! That slogan could sum up the national media frenzy surrounding California's October 7 date with destiny. No longer concerned with promoting my own candidacy, I am now focused like a laser on reminding Californians and especially fellow Republicans what this recall election is really all about — removing from office the worst governor and most duplicitous politician I have ever seen.

With all the media attention given to the various replacement candidates, it can be easy to lose sight of the fundamental question facing voters — whether Governor Gray Davis should be removed. In fact, recall opponents are using what they call the "circus" atmosphere surrounding the election to discredit this constitutional process and scare voters into saving Davis.

We must not let this happen. This historic recall election is a true grassroots uprising against the corrupt politicians and bungling bureaucrats in Sacramento who have driven our state to the brink of a financial meltdown. It represents a powerful force for positive change — for leaders who are honest and accountable, and for a government that is limited and local in nature.

Nothing can stop this genuine grassroots movement — except our own complacency. Recall supporters must spare no effort to remind their friends, neighbors, coworkers — every Californian they meet — why it is so important to remove Gray Davis and put our state on a new, more hopeful path.

Davis and his cronies have spent California into bankruptcy, resulting in the biggest deficit and worst credit rating of any state in history.

His job-killing policies have thrown hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens out of work and forced thousands of small businesses to close their doors or flee the state.

He turned an electricity problem into a full-blown crisis — a crisis that remains with us to this day. And he has done nothing as California's quality of life continues to decline — our schools, roads, water, housing, and health care.

Gray Davis would never have been reelected last year if he had not lied about the budget, lied about the power crisis, lied about our declining quality of life, and spent a record $80 million lying about me.

The truth has now come out. But instead of apologizing to the people for the mess he has made of California, Davis continues to dodge, duck, and deceive. We must not let him get away with it!

So as we continue to follow all the political machinations and colorful punditry surrounding the replacement candidates, let's not lose sight of what this recall is all about. Angry and concerned citizens across

*2002 Republican nominee for California governor, William E. Simon, Jr., serves as co-chairman of William E. Simon & Sons, a private investment firm and merchant bank, of the William E. Simon Foundation, and of the Cynthia L. and William E. Simon, Jr., Foundation.*



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California have risen up because we are fed up. We want our government back. We want to set California on a new course that can only begin by removing Gray Davis from office on October 7. CFR

## SHAWN STEEL — UNITING TO WIN THE GOVERNERSHIP

This recall presents California Republicans with an historic shot to reclaim the helm of state government as it teeters on the brink of insolvency. Gray Davis's mendacity and incompetence combined have produced what the political and media *cognoscenti* a few weeks ago maintained could never happen: the all-but certain recall of a sitting governor. Golden State Republicans have been given that rare thing in politics: a second chance of ballot box victory.

But it wouldn't be a California election without the Republicans poised, once again, to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory.

The populists who created the recall would lose any chance of restructuring state government if Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante were to eke out a victory. Bustamante is supported by the same special interests as Davis, special interests that have terrorized our economy and obstructed reform movements.

Because Bustamante is on the ballot, the electability of one of the top three Republicans should be our foremost consideration. It may gall my fellow movement conservatives to admit as much, but it is the truth. After all, the point of this recall is replacing Davis with a reform governor who will push goals of economic growth through lower taxes, less spending, business-friendly rules, and real workers' compensation reform.

The qualities the winning Republican candidate must possess are no mystery: He must have voter appeal that flows across party lines.

The winner this fall will need to adopt Ronald Reagan's skills in communication, voter empathy, and visionary leadership.

An attractive persona fused as a brilliant communicator is another key factor. The recall's compressed time frame gives voters much less time to get to know the candidates. The nature of this election favors the candidate best able to forge quickly a genuine connection with voters.

The voters who created the recall must believe the candidate sincerely comprehends the reasons we see a massive outflow of fellow Californians fleeing our state for a better living environment. The candidate must understand what it will take to encourage the middle class to stay and help rebuild.

*The recall is a grassroots uprising against the corrupt politicians and bungling bureaucrats who have driven our state to the brink of a financial meltdown.*

*— Bill Simon*

Even after Davis is recalled, the winner will actually have to govern. The heavily liberal Democrat Legislature will remain. Therefore, voters must consider which of the top candidates commands the necessary charisma, craftiness, clarity of purpose, and force of will to push the Legislature in a new direction.

Should the recall succeed, the new governor's most urgent task is restoration of the state's economy. If we elect a governor lacking the political and communication skills to leverage sufficient Democrat votes — or absent that, the ability to obtain reforms directly from the people *via* initiative — California's economic train wreck will continue, albeit with a new politician driving the train.

Visionary leadership will be crucial. Our next governor will have to assemble a cabinet of economic-growth specialists. Davis proved that simple-minded "experience" can be the most harmful formula for running the state. Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush have demonstrated the value of visionary leadership surrounded by able, supply-side economists committed to economic expansion.

Finally, we need a governor willing to invest significant effort and resources into rebuilding his Party and sweeping Sacramento clean by electing pro-business legislators.

I can't recall a time when the stakes have been so high for the California Republican Party. The recall movement itself has invigorated a demoralized citizenry, among whom political interest now runs at fever pitch. Recent polls show that 82 percent of Californians believe the state is headed in the wrong direction. A recall victory must mark the beginning of a political renaissance, or else our efforts will be mostly in vain.

In other words, we cannot afford to blow this — or else federal biologists will try to list us as an endangered species.

The top tier GOP candidates — Arnold Schwarzenegger, Tom McClintock, and Peter Ueberroth — pos-

*(Please turn to page 29)*

*Shawn Steel is immediate past chairman, California Republican Party, and Davis Recall co-founder.*



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# Who Speaks for the People?

by John Kurzweil

The drive to line up Republicans behind Arnold Schwarzenegger for governor bears all the elements that reduced the California Republican Party to a shambles by the end of the 1990s. Consider the message we have heard so far on the bedrock issue of taxes:

*Yes we're against taxes ... but, you know, property taxes are too low — what? did we say that? no, no, we love Prop. 13, don't listen to that man behind the curtain — If he says that again, he'll have to do 500 sit-ups — No, I won't sign any pledge not to increase taxes, though Californians are terribly over-taxed. It's just that I can't bring myself to say even that I won't add to their burden, much less outline a plan for relieving it. There could be an emergency, like a flood or an invasion from Mars; but, trust me, I'll clean house.*

To my friends and colleagues who support Arnold Schwarzenegger or who believe his election, despite his shortcomings, would strengthen the Republican Party, I must say I disagree. Hardly more than a few weeks ago, we all expected Democrats to hold the governor's office for three more years — so little did the prospect trouble Republicans that, had it not been for Darrell Issa's generosity and foresight, the recall would have been left to fail for want of a cash investment relatively small considered against the vast resources routinely poured into California politics. But now, suddenly, October 7 is being discussed as though it were the last election we would ever see.



I do not minimize the critical issues at stake in the recall: on the contrary, it is precisely because they are so important that I urge Republicans to keep matters in context. A quick victory — even supposing such a thing is likely were Mr. Schwarzenegger alone in the GOP field, and I do not think it would be — but even supposing it were likely, I believe

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the probable cost would outweigh the gain for Republicans and for California. Supporting a candidate genuinely devoted to Republican principles is perhaps a more difficult course at the moment, but real political strength, like most other real strengths, is built slowly from solid foundations.

We've been through this before — eight years of it. Pete Wilson was going to create a powerful "New Republicanism" — but left the California GOP a wreck, characterized by dysfunctional or non-existent Party organizations, a famine in new candidates, a collapsed grass roots structure, wracked by internecine ideological warfare, unable to register voters, raise dollars, or articulate a message (with notable local exceptions here and there where the Wilson influence had not penetrated or had been overcome). It added up to a one-Party, Democrat state.

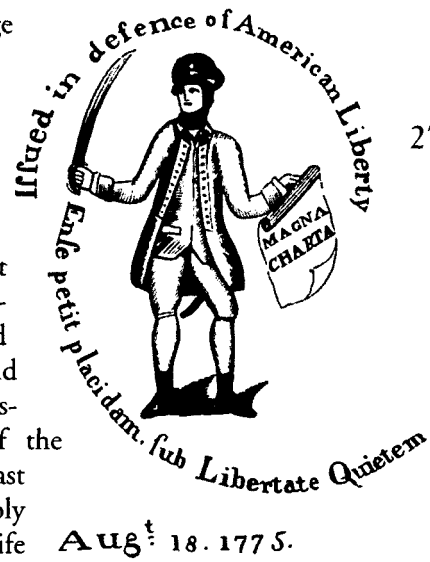
***Democrats are in trouble and in revolt against Gray Davis for the same reason Republicans rebelled against Wilson.***

Wilson's "New Republicanism" wasn't new, and it wasn't, as advertised, "fiscally conservative and socially moderate." It was opportunism. The governor publicly excoriated and privately betrayed fiscal conservatism as quickly and vehemently as social conservatism when either crossed his vision for his own career. He also adopted conservative themes when *that* served his purpose. "One thing you can be sure of," a longtime Sacramento activist told me after Wilson announced support of some already-popular initiative to eliminate race preferences or bilingual education or benefits for illegals or something, "it is already an almost certain winner. They never back anything until they've tested it every way possible to make sure it will help Pete."

Democrats are in trouble and in revolt against Gray Davis for the same reason Republicans rebelled against Wilson. Both governors made it plain they *themselves* were their top priority, not issues, not base constituencies, not the people who sacrificed to make the Party win, and certainly not the state. People who give of themselves day after day to bring political victory over the long term don't suffer selfish, duplicitous leaders happily.

What is the message of the Schwarzenegger campaign? Tough talk when a restive public demands it, but, from beyond the limelight, one keeps hearing such things as that "Arnold Schwarzenegger has tapped former Los Angeles Mayor Dick Riordan to create an 'issues team' made up of experts on California policy to help his campaign develop specific proposals ...." (Fox News, August 9) Need we re-hash Mr. Riordan's policy positions, the man *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters noticed differed from Gray Davis only on points where the Riordan silhouette protruded to Davis's left? — the man whose check book helped bank-roll (in the six figure range) Democrat campaigns against even sitting Republican office holders like George Deukmejian?

In cold terms, the Schwarzenegger message is: elect me and you will have a governor with an "R" after his name. Beyond that, no guarantees, except, of course, that he jettisons the interests of at least two core GOP constituencies, pro-lifers and pro-gunners. That should please Democrats, especially those aware of the shellacking they took last year in the 80th Assembly District where a pro-life



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Republican defeated a pro-abort Democrat in a Democrat-gerrymandered, heavily Latino district. Mr. Schwarzenegger will not harvest the rich Reagan Democrat potential of Hispanic voters.

Return to Republican civil war is inevitable under Mr. Schwarzenegger, just as the civil war was unavoidable under Wilson, a man who "wanted to win" as much as the Terminator does. A strong grass roots structure becomes an automatic brake on and embarrassment to a Party leader who opposes the grass roots' political goals. When Governor Schwarzenegger, for instance, wants a tax hike, he'll know Senator McClintock, among others, will rise in the Legislature, at Party gatherings, before reporters, and on talk radio to point out in detail how destructive to the economy and to GOP fortunes it will be. The governor will know that Mr. McClintock will be cheered by most ordinary Republicans, and by many other Californians, who will then think ill of the governor. So Governor Schwarzenegger, like Wilson before him, will counter-attack, adopting the usual clichés about rigid, right-wing ideologues stuck in the past, uncaring, unpopular, unable to lead, and the press will eat it up.

I have seen it — too much. The one way guaranteed to fill a news conference with reporters and generate lavish next day coverage was always to lambaste Pete Wilson. The "Republicans attack themselves again" story is always news. And it somehow magically pries opened the otherwise hermetically sealed (to conservatives) op-ed pages of the *Los Angeles Times:* slam the governor, or have the governor slam conservatives, and the page is yours.

In the mid-1990s, I organized a Capitol news conference with former U.S. Attorney General Ed Meese to criticize a decision authored by state Supreme Court Chief Justice Ron George. The room was packed, but despite our showing such noteworthy items as that former Democrat Senate Leader David Roberti agreed that George was misinterpreting a law Roberti had shepherded through the state Senate, all the reporters seemed interested in was the vexed question: wasn't it all Pete Wilson's fault for having put George on the Court? When it became apparent that neither Meese nor I were there to talk about Wilson, the room deflated. Next day saw a few stray wire stories in small papers, but the *Bee,* the *Times,* the *Chronicle,* and the TV stations — all of whom had sent reporters — somehow couldn't find any news to report from the conference.

The Schwarzenegger candidacy serves a variety of interests, some quite legitimate, others less so, but mainly it ignores the interests of the people of California.

***Return to Republican civil war is inevitable under Mr. Schwarzenegger, just as the civil war was unavoidable under Wilson, a man who 'wanted to win' as much as the Terminator does.***

It serves the national interests of the White House and east-coast Republicans who believe Mr. Schwarzenegger offers their best chance of reading "GOP Retakes California Governorship" in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* October 8, with the implication of dismay and demoralization for national Democrats and national momentum for the president and his Party on the eve of his re-election campaign. But the details for those of us actually living in California under a liberal GOP administration fall outside those concerns.

It serves the interests of members of former Governor Wilson's administration surviving in the political wilderness since Davis took office who believe Mr. Schwarzenegger represents *their* best chance of returning to the state Capitol. And it serves liberal Republicans who, as a minor faction within the state Party, require lib-



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eral Republican champions at the top to make them a force in state politics.

But it does not serve California's people, and, by failing to do that, it ultimately guarantees failure for Republican political fortunes in California, certainly in the long run, if not right away. Successful politics in a democracy consists of a pact between political leaders and enough people to supply resources and votes sufficient to win elections. Wilsonian "New Republicanism" breaks the pact. Its return will smother the nascent Republican revival in Los Angeles, San Diego, and other counties, resurrecting the ideological wars and sending the creative, dedicated people capable of rebuilding the Party streaming again for the exits.

The Democrats speak and act for their special interest supporters — Davis forgot that, and he is about to be deposed as a result.

Republicans speak for those oppressed and abused by the Democrats' special interests: unborn babies, taxpayers, pro-family activists, freedom loving patriots, business owners and their employees, home schoolers, religious believers, families, young people looking for economic opportunities, seniors looking for secure retirements, kids and parents in the Boy Scouts, anyone who likes to drive a car or own a home — in a phrase: ordinary Californians, the people. Pete Wilson forgot *that,* giving us our one-Party state. Reverting now to opportunism while forgetting about people will cost more than it will gain.

One candidate in this election speaks for the people. He is a Republican and well known, a proven vote-getter who offers a genuine alternative to the Democrats. As the antithesis of the Wilson idea, he will rebuild the Party for all the reasons Mr. Schwarzenegger threatens to tear it down. Tom McClintock will get my vote October 7.

## Steel

*(Continued from page 25)*

sess all or most of the qualities of a winner — but the painful truth is that if all three stay in the race for the brass ring, they make it nauseatingly likely Cruz Bustamante will snatch it for himself.

All three candidates are dedicated to their state, and their distinctive gifts would make them fine governors. But we are rapidly approaching the moment when we must confront the reality that splitting the ticket three ways will prove disastrous — not only for our Party, but for our state. California is literally at a cross roads. A five-year binge of liberalism ruined the most dynamic state economy in the nation. Our most productive citizens are once again fleeing, taking jobs, and opportunity with them.

A Bustamante administration will give California's economy a final shove over the cliff. His hare-brained, Jimmy Carter-esque embrace of gasoline price controls alone shows this professional liberal's zero comprehension of how free markets function.

Besides the return of gas lines, Governor Bustamante would bring higher taxes, more regulations, skyrocketing workers compensations costs — and a state economy ready for the morgue.

Clearly, this is no time to let grudges and internecine fighting come before victory. It is no time for GOP factions to play Henry Clay, the man who preferred being right to being president. No faction will get everything it wants, but by uniting behind the strongest candidate in the field, every Republican will get 70 percent of what he or she wants.

It is imperative that every faction of the California Republican Party — and the standard-bearers they have embraced — to assess the situation immediately and objectively and coalesce around the candidate most likely the defeat Cruz Bustamante.

Bill Simon, in an elegant act of statesmanship, took a hard look at circumstances and withdrew for the good of the Party. October 7 draws inexorably nearer, and the window for similar acts of partisan sacrifice by the remaining GOP candidates will soon slam shut. Here's hoping that ego does not cost our Party the opportunity to lead a California renaissance.



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CRITICUS

# Summertime/Summer Madness

BY G.B. TENNYSON

THE DEATH of Katherine Hepburn, occurring as it did in mid-July when Criticus was contemplating his annual roundup of oddities and follies, inevitably called to mind one of his favorite Hepburn films, the one called *Summertime.* The reasons were the season, the remembrance of the origin of the film, and a personal experience, of which more shortly.

The 1955 film is a rendering of a play by Arthur Laurents called *The Time of the Cuckoo.* Constant Readers will recall that a summer or two back, Criticus titled his roundup column "Loud Sing Cuckoo" after the anonymous Middle English poem that hails the arrival of summer by noting that the cuckoo has returned and is singing his song. The verse is one of the first written instances in English associating summer with the cuckoo and by implication with the silly season, though the idea itself is much older. Laurents obviously had the cuckoo and the silly season in mind, and for all I know the poem itself, when he titled his play. Hollywood, of course, feared that the great American public would not understand the title and renamed it simply for the season, and even in literate England it was released under the slightly more fitting title *Summer Madness.* (Two decades later, to be sure, Hollywood stayed with the title of the Ken Kesey book, *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest,* but then that was set in an insane asylum, and even the dimmest wit could be expected to recognize the association.)

For those not familiar with the film, a quick summary: middle-aged American spinster secretary goes to Venice on a summer holiday, falls predictably in love with the city, and — almost equally predictably for films of that era — with a dashing Italian, here played by Rossano Brazzi. Eventually it turns out that he is married and has no intention of leaving his wife, although more than willing to enjoy an affair. Hepburn is of course dashed and at the end leaves Venice in one of those bittersweet scenes in which the train is pulling out of the station and the Venetian lover races alongside to give her a gardenia (I think it was) that recalls an earlier romantic moment in the film. It was all brilliantly directed by the great David Lean (*Lawrence of Arabia),* gorgeously photographed by the great Jack Hildyard (*Bridge on the River Kwai).* The

*G.B. Tennyson is* CPR's *official collector of oddities and chronicler of summer madnesses.*



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result: Venice never looked lovelier, Hepburn never looked more poignantly vulnerable.

IN ONE of the splendidly comic scenes of the film Hepburn is found engaged in photographing Venice with the help of a little Venetian street urchin who has become her guide, and as she backs away while photographing she falls, splash!, into a canal. Many years later the Criticus family found itself in Venice, staying at the Pensione Academia, which I believe was used as the setting for Hepburn's Venetian stay. Strolling among the canals one day we bought the two little Critical daughters ice cream cones, which for reasons known only to sibling rivalry became the object of a challenge. The younger Miss Criticus, *aka* Holly, boasted to the older Miss Criticus, *aka* Cam, that she could walk farther down a flight of steps that led into the canal and, holding her ice cream aloft, proceeded to do so. Water in Venetian canals is rarely motionless and in this case was washing gently on the lower steps. Suddenly, Hepburn-like, Holly slipped on the steps and plunged into the canal, still holding aloft the precious cone as though it were Lady Liberty's torch. It was marginally less dramatic than Hepburn's plunge but equally comic and certainly equally water-soaking, to say nothing of gratifying to the elder Miss Criticus. A commotion ensued, and an Italian passer-by jumped into the canal to rescue little Miss Criticus. Criticus *père* turned around and remarked to Criticus *mère* that some fool parents had apparently let their fool child fall into the canal.

And loud sang the cuckoo.

**... middle-aged American spinster secretary goes to Venice on a summer holiday, falls predictably in love with a dashing Italian.**

## Names Will Ever Hurt Me

The politically correct obsession with taking offense over words and names has had a banner year. Following are some of the allegedly offensive words and terms that came to Critical attention since last Criticus looked.

In Marin County, 23 residents signed a petition to change the name of the Dixie School District to Miller Creek School District. The reason of course is that Dixie raises images of slavery. Amazingly, the district's board of trustees turned down the petition. But hold! Marin is still Marin, and the board said it will look into the possibility of a name change at a later date. Meantime Criticus wonders whether images of slavery are raised every time one lifts a Dixie Cup. Perhaps it should be changed to Yankee Cup. And for that matter, those troublesome Dixie Chicks had better watch out, lest they end up being hated by both sides.

All of this is as silly as the drive to rename French fries as "freedom fries." The French themselves don't call them French fries but simply "fried potatoes" (*pommes frites*), and in any case their origin is Belgian. Back in La La Land, the owner of the Los Angeles Clippers, Donald Stirling, has been prohibited, while a discrimination suit is pending, from adding the word "Korean" to his apartment buildings on the grounds that it represents a "preference" for a particular ethnic group in violation of the federal Fair Housing Act. Now what would happen if an apartment owner named White or an apartment owner named Black wanted to name his apartments after himself? Or if the two got together and named the apartments after both of them? Or .... On that same theme, Criticus notes that Martin Luther King III has urged Attorney General John Ashcroft to support efforts to remove the name J. Edgar Hoover from the FBI headquarters building, the argument being that Hoover persecuted civil rights activists such as King's father. But if, as noted here sometime back, Hoover was himself of black ancestry, would it not be discriminatory to remove his name? And if done, would anybody acknowledge it?

CONSIDER THE case of Panama City, Florida. In 1994 the city commission changed the name of what had been Cove Boulevard on State 77 to Martin Luther King Boulevard. Eight years later the NAACP demanded to know why only eleven percent of the businesses and residents on the street use the new name, the rest remaining with Cove Boulevard or State 77. The mayor said the city had done all it could and he couldn't force the residents to use the new name. Uncommon restraint, that.



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Will the same thing happen in Los Angeles if the City Council presses on with its desire to change the name of Crenshaw Boulevard to Tom Bradley Boulevard? The dominantly black population in and around Crenshaw vigorously opposes the change, not out of disrespect for the late black Mayor Bradley but out of affection and identification with Crenshaw, even if the name is that of an otherwise long-forgotten land developer. Of course, more often the populace is overruled by its masters. Criticus notes that a few years back in a name-feeding frenzy at UCLA upon the retirement of Chancellor Charles E. Young no one asked Criticus what he thought of the change of name of the University Research Library to the Charles E. Young Research Library. Had anyone done so, Criticus would have asked whether at any time in Young's 30-plus years of service there had been even one confirmed sighting of the Chancellor in that same Research Library?

OTHER CONTESTED name changes include the renaming of Phoenix's Squaw peak as the unpronounceable Piestewa Peak after the first female casualty of the Iraq war, who was also an American Indian. Further, the change removes a term "many Native Americans found derogatory," according to the *Los Angeles Times.* On the urging of west coast Indians the fish names committee (yes, there is such a thing) changed the name of the "squawfish" to "pike minnow." Criticus is still in search of firm evidence that the word "squaw" is in fact derogatory. Clarifications welcome.

Across the country another supposedly offensive place name has become a bone of contention. It is Jewfish Creek, an inlet that separates Key Largo from the mainland Florida peninsula. Objection to it came from a Department of Transportation official, but the locals are totally opposed to any change, and their spokeswoman, the provocatively named Dixie Spehar, said that not a single one of the county's 80,000 residents favors any change. The fish itself has had its name changed to "goliath grouper," while the California jewfish was changed to "giant sea bass." Yes, there was a California jewfish, and its name survives in Jewfish Cape on Catalina Island. Moreover, the first newspaper published in Avalon, beginning in 1889, was called "The Jew Fish." Otherwise "Jewfish" lives on in nine other U.S. geographical features.

This business of name changes stretches around the world. In Berlin, Germans protested the plan to rename a street its prewar name, which was *Judenstrasse,* or Jewish Street, to give it a genteel English translation. The Nazis had changed the name before the war, and after the war it was changed again, to *Kinkelstrasse* (Kinkel Street), in honor of a resistance fighter. To prove that topsy-turveyism is everywhere, be it noted that Rabbi Yaacov Zucker of Key West supports retaining the name Jewfish Creek, even as the Burghers of Berlin fight against Jewish Street.

While no one was looking, the federal name-change board decades back ordered all geographical features in the United States to be changed if they included a derogatory epithet for blacks (epithet not specified) and likewise name changes for place names with a pejorative abbreviation for Japanese (also not specified).

All of this reminded Criticus of a family he knew in high school. Their surname was "Jew." One of their sons in school with me was known as Doc, why I know not. So we had a Doc Jew who was no doctor; nor was he or anyone in his family Jewish. They were Chinese and operated, verily, a laundry.

Beyond place and family names, changes have been made in other areas. The German firm Bosch Siemens was moved to withdraw its applications for U.S. trademark use of the word "Zyklon," which simply enough means "cyclone." Unfortunately, that was the name of the gas used in concentration camps. The blunder was attributed to young workers who don't know their history. Dumbing down is now universal, while dumbing up is being practiced by the British theatrical troupe that has re-titled its performances of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* as *The Bellringer of Notre Dame,* doubtless to be played by a handsome body-builder.

## Dem Bones

The summertime excitement generated by the announcement of the finding in Jerusalem of the so-called "James Ossuary" reminded us, if we needed to be reminded, that fraudsters and con artists are always with us. The burial box, on the top of which was inscribed in Aramaic "James, Brother of Jesus," has been proven a fraud, and its finder and apparent forger, an antiquities collector named Oden Golan, has been arrested and is now out on bail. Criticus has never been involved in any scheme so newsworthy, but the silly season did find him in receipt of two remarkable offers of the sort that, if followed through on, would surely get him notice in the press as Dupe of the Month. Both came to him through the magic of e-mail.

The first was from someone calling himself Barrister Kevin Bello, "an Attorney at Law and Senior Ad-



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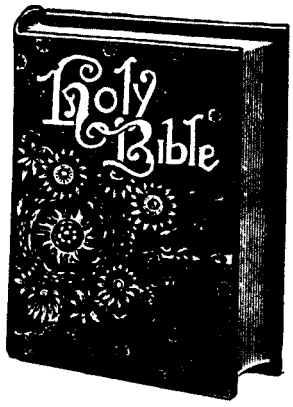
vocate of Nigeria." He claimed to be the personal attorney for one Hans Tennyson, who along with his wife and three children was involved in a fatal car accident on the Sagamu Express Road in April of 2000. All died, and ever since then Barrister Bello has been searching for a surviving relative of the unfortunate Hans in order for that relative to claim from the Union Bank of Nigeria the deposits in Hans's name.




**'And here's how you'll find him: the nipper is wrapped up in a bunny rug, and lying in a food trough.'**

THEY AMOUNT to (U.S.) $8 million. If not claimed soon, this large sum will be confiscated by the bank. But if I consent to let myself be put forth as the next of kin, then the $8 million can be paid to me and then, in Bello's words, "you and me *[sic]* can share the money." What a thrilling prospect. All I have to do is contact barrister Bello at his e-mail address, which, fittingly enough is with a server named "zwallet." I suspect that is shorthand for "zip up your wallet."

Bello, however, is a piker compared to Dr. Paul Edward Kakou from the Republic of Benin, who addresses me simply as "My dear." His scheme required a two-page e-mail to explain. It seems that the risibly named Dr. Kakou, a social worker, had just returned from Iraq where he and two fellow-workers who are UN officials found a "huge amount of cash in an abandoned house." Through their UN immunity they were able to transport this money to Benin, but since Dr. Kakou is not permitted to own a foreign bank account, he needs a foreigner, *viz.* Criticus, to help him get the money out of the country and of course share it with him. All Criticus has to do is, at his own expense, visit Dr. Kakou in Benin "so that we can know and understand each other." Oh yes, I should also bring along two copies of my passport and four passport-size photographs of myself. If all this is too difficult, I can send along the passport materials and appoint an attorney in Benin to represent me. The money will be placed, first, in my name in an account in Benin and subsequently transferred to my "destination account in Europe." On the completion of the deal I will "retain some reasonable percentage of the money as a compensation for [my] assistance."

In case you are wondering, the amount of cash found in the abandoned building in Iraq is, (U.S.) $28,730,000. What do you suppose is a "reasonable percentage" of that? Certainly more than the measly $4 million I would get from sharing with Barrister Bello at zwallet. As for contacting Dr. Kakou, his e-mail server is "voila." There you are.

## The Equalizer

Criticus, who claims to have a cousin for every occasion, including presumably Hans Tennyson, has been favored by one such with a new way around the tyranny of the alphabet. This cousin (technically a first cousin twice removed, but a cousin nonetheless) graduated from high school at the beginning of the silly season and sent me a copy of the program. There was no visible order to the names listed; in fact it looked rather like the special California recall election ballot will look, that is, entirely random. But it wasn't really. Upon inquiry I was informed that the listing was by height. I infer that it was from shortest to tallest, since the final twenty-five names (out of seventy) were all male except for one, and the first twenty-five were all female, except for three. Call in the p.c. word fascists, for surely this kind of organization must be both "sexist" and "heightist."

AND WHILE we're on graduations, let it be known that I attended the graduation of Number One daughter with an MBA from Pepperdine. A beautiful, clear, blue-water day on that handsome campus so wisely long-since departed from its South Central origins. But Criticus appeared to be the only one of the thousands filling the hall who knew the words to "Pomp and Circumstance," which he alone sang softly as the graduates filed in. Is that because "Land of Hope and Glory" is thought to be foreign? Even in the Mother Country there is a vocal minority (why, oh why, can there not be a silent minority?) who want the words dropped or changed. After all, it does have the offending lines: "Wider still and wider / Shall thy bounds be set, / God, who made thee mighty, / Make thee mightier yet." How can anyone become exercised in these post-imperial days over



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the thought that God not only made the British Empire mighty but that He is going to strengthen it even more?

### The Strine Bible

Although it's winter Down Under, August up here seemed the right month for the publication of *The Aussie Bible (Well, bits of it anyway),* a 90-page rendition in Aussie-speak (*i.e.,* Strine) of various well-known Biblical passages. Not meant to be irreverent but only relevant, says its author Kel Richards. Constant Readers can judge for themselves by considering the following account of a well-known event:

"And here's how you'll find him: the nipper is wrapped up in a bunny rug, and lying in a food trough." And before you could say, "Well, I'll be blowed!" the whole sky was filled with more angels than you could count, all singing away at the top of their lungs (if angels have got lungs, that is): "God is great! God is bonzer—and to everyone on this planet who's on God's side: peace and goodwill . . ."

### *Nil nisi bonum*

Having begun this roundup column with the death of Katherine Hepburn, it seems appropriate to conclude it with her. Though some will think I am speaking ill of the dead, understand that I am here chiefly speaking ill of the commentators and obituarists discoursing on the late Ms. Hepburn. The media were full of assessments of her life and career that painted her as the ultimate proto-feminist, independent, fearless, self-assured, dignified, beholden to no one and especially to no man. In short, they conflated their notions of her film roles with her life. If you read all these accounts all the way to the end, you would have learned, however, that, off-screen, Hepburn lived in submissive adultery as the mistress of an irascible, unfaithful alcoholic, who refused to divorce his wife because he was Catholic (!), and that they contrived for her to use back entrances to public places while he entered by the front so that they would not be seen or photographed together. The "he" of this pair was, of course, Spencer Tracy. Come to think of it, all this is rather like Hepburn's films, for what the commentators largely failed to see is that for all the spunk and independence Hepburn's film characters display, they also have an underlying vulnerability (so obvious in *Summertime),* and they virtually all end up being tamed and in the end settling down with the leading man. Life does often imitate art, but much of the time it is better to know only the art. R.I.P. CPR

BOOKS

# The man who won the Cold War

BY WILLIAM E. SARACINO

ONE OF the left's most enduring shibboleths about Ronald Reagan is that he was a simpleton; a moron floating through a charmed life. The party line is that the good things that happened all around him were either accidents, coincidences, or events in which he was not involved. Liberals are particularly vociferous that President Reagan's foreign and defense policies could not possibly have had anything to do with the collapse of communism. Former diplomat and Democrat warhorse Clark Clifford neatly summed up this view when he called Reagan an "amiable dunce." That remained the operative view, at least in public, of most Democrat politicians and their media mouthpieces throughout his presidency. Even the defeat of a tyranny with global reach, one that had lasted through 70 years and 11 presidents, earned Reagan no credit. Even if he had a clue about what was actually going on, liberals argue, the real policy formation and decisive actions were done by staff.

*Reagan's War* gives all these canards a burial they richly deserve. Author Peter Schweizer begins by quoting philosopher Isaiah Berlin's commentary on "the hedgehog and the fox": "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing," Berlin said, dividing the world into these two types of people. Foxes pursue many different things, sometimes related, sometimes not, while hedgehogs,

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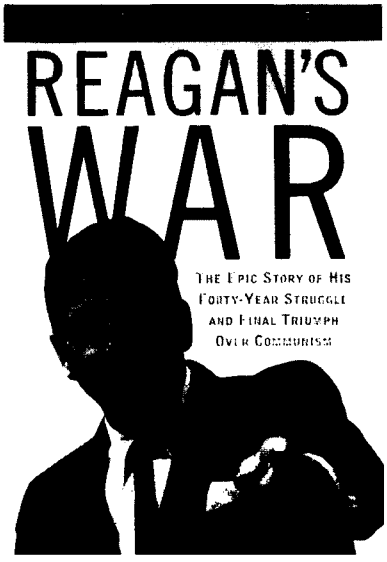
Schweizer writes, "relate everything to a single central vision, a single universal organizing principle that defines what they think and believe. Ronald Reagan was a hedgehog."

THE "ONE BIG THING" that Reagan knew, the idea that defined his entire public life, was (again quoting Schweizer) "the power and value of human freedom." That is indisputable for anyone who has studied Reagan's public life, including his early political involvement in Hollywood and his speeches and writings. The power of freedom, the superiority of free democracies over tyrannies, a belief that, in fact, God's divine plan for man includes freedom as a central tenet — these beliefs permeate Reagan's public pronouncements from the '40s to his very last speech.

Reagan not only knew exactly what he believed in, he also knew exactly who the enemies of freedom were, whether they called themselves Nazis, fascists, or communists. And he knew how freedom would win the battle against tyranny: through the vigorous contest of freedom's and tyranny's opposing ideas. As ineluctable as the law of gravity is what I hereby dub Reagan's Law: that, given the choice, human beings will always choose freedom over tyranny. Communism's outer ramparts, from Berlin to the waters off Cuba, Cambodia, and Vietnam, have been littered with corpses testifying, mutely but powerfully, to the truth of Reagan's Law.

Well-written and fast-paced, *Reagan's War* traces Ronald Reagan's personal and political history as an anti-communist, beginning with his days leading Hollywood's battle against a largely overt attempt by communists to take over the film industry capital. His first-hand exposure to communism's brutal, thuggish tactics (why should they behave differently in Hollywood than they do everywhere else?), formed a lifelong anti-communist zeal in Reagan that culminated in, and was vindicated by, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the implosion of the Soviet Union and Empire.

Schweizer's account of the battle against communist infiltration of the movie industry comes as a great public service. Too many Americans think Joe McCarthy was all wrong. McCarthy proved to be an inept messenger, but his major charge — that communist agents were indeed active in the State Department — was correct, as the opening of KGB archives has proven decisively, for anyone needing further proof.




**Reagan's War**

**by Peter Schweizer**

**Doubleday, New York,**
**2002, 339 pages,**
**$26, cloth.**

Similarly, the notion is too widely believed that opposition to communism in Hollywood was just one more scandalous flare-up of right-wing paranoia. As Schweizer and other writers have shown (see, for instance, Kenneth Lloyd Billingsly's *Hollywood Party,* 1998, Prima), the communists busy moling into America's foreign policy establishment were joined by west-coast comrades attempting to subvert the entertainment industry. Communist elements had been attempting to gain influence in Hollywood since 1935 when a secret directive issued by the American Communist Party (CPUSA) ordered its members to obtain positions of influence at all levels of the industry.

I have some personal knowledge of this through my father, who worked at MGM from 1929 until the late 1980s. During the '30s, in the depth of the depression, the key to steady work in the movie business was union membership, a highly sought-after commodity that was closely regulated. My father was told more then once that his union card would be forthcoming the day he produced a CPUSA membership card. He eventually *did* obtain the card he wanted, in the IATSE union, without having to submit to CPUSA membership. This experience led to his own political involvement at MGM and an acquaintance with Reagan whom he met while both fought their common battle, but that is gist for another story.

REAGAN'S EXPERIENCE with the left's thuggish, violent tactics led to his own disillusionment with communism (recall that at the time Reagan was a fairly liberal Democrat). A violent communist-led strike against Warner Brothers in 1946 made Reagan a leader among Hollywood's anti-communists, many of whom still considered themselves liberal. But as Phillip Dunn, the director of *The Count of*



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*Monte Cristo,* and *The Last of The Mohicans,* among other films, said at the time, "All over town the industrious communist tail wagged the lazy liberal dog."

Reagan determined that the tail would wag the dog no longer, and set about exposing the communists and their tactics. Studio chief Jack Warner commented that "Ronnie Reagan turned out to be a tower of strength, not only for the actors but for the whole industry." It wouldn't be the last time Reagan served as such a lynch pin, rallying the forces for the fight against communism while others around him grew weak or counseled accommodation.

Schweizer's book then traces Reagan's time as a spokesman for General Electric, his gradual evolution into a Republican in the early 1950s, and his rise to prominence after "the speech" — A Time For Choosing — televised in support of Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential candidacy. As California governor, Reagan continued the battle against the pro-communist Students for a Democratic Society, latter-day spiritual heirs of the 1940s' thugs brawling at Warner Brothers.

Of particular interest to me was Schweizer's retelling of Reagan's 1976 challenge to President Gerald Ford, and the reasons behind it. Gerry Ford is a likable old codger now, so it's easy to gloss over the issues for which we battled against an incumbent Republican president. Bashing Ford is clearly not Schweizer's purpose, but he resurrects a quote from Henry Kissinger — Ford's Secretary of State — that still makes my blood run cold.

"The day of the United States is past," Kissinger was quoted as saying, going on to add that "today is the day of the Soviet Union. My job as Secretary of State is to negotiate the most acceptable second best position available." I remember well how galvanizing that quote was at the time. Read it again. How could it not infuriate any American possessing even a passing familiarity with communism's barbarous savagery? My involvement with that 1976 Reagan campaign remains one of the proudest moments of my political life.

As bizarre as the Kissinger quote sounds today, with the Soviet Empire residing on history's ash heap as Reagan predicted it would, the sorry truth is that Kissinger's view was firmly believed by vast cadres of powerful Americans at the time. One thing that made Reagan unique was his belief, as Schweizer writes, "in the profound weakness of communism." For many Americans, even many conservatives, communism was, Schweizer writes, "a thing to be feared, an ironclad doctrine with strong adherents. For Reagan, on the other hand, communism appealed to the weak .... It wasn't that Reagan was minimizing the threat, he believed that communism was a profound challenge. But he believed it thrived only by secrecy, threats, and deceit" and so could be beaten by plain speaking, courage, and exposure of its lies. He was right, of course, and the defeatists wrong, as *Reagan's War* — and history — prove.

The book covers Reagan's presidency in detail. Particularly fascinating, and particularly damaging to the left's "amiable dunce" theory, is Schweizer's recounting of Reagan's repeated out-foxing of Mikhail Gorbachev at their summit meetings. Reagan — ably aided by his foreign policy team — maneuvered Gorbachev into a contest he could not win, attempting to compete with the United States both militarily and economically. They resisted every blandishment and fit of bombast from the worldwide communist support network in the media and the pressure exerted by violent demonstrators around the globe. Throughout, Reagan stuck to the "one big thing" he knew: Freedom is better then slavery in every way and under any circumstance. He knew freedom would finally win the battle if free people stayed the course.

They did, and the wall came down, Russia became a democracy, and communism ceased to exist outside the physical squalor of Pyong Yang and Havana, and the intellectual squalor of American universities.

Schweizer's penultimate chapter recounts Reagan's triumphal 1990 journey to newly-freed Eastern Europe. A Berlin newspaper reprinted for the visit a new song that had been written in Reagan's honor: "The Man Who Made Those Pussyfooters and Weaklings Feel Ashamed." A bit wordy for a *Variety* headline, but the author made his point. A few days later, at an emotional, jubilant reception at a public square in Gdansk, Poland, President Lech Walesa's parish priest presented Reagan with a sword using these words, "I am giving you the saber for helping us to chop off the head of communism."

The primary lesson of this wonderful book is that one man's moral clarity and courage can change the world. In the face of vociferous opposition, even within his own party, one man did make the "pussyfooters and weaklings" feel ashamed. And when the head was at long last cut off of communism, a political evil responsible for more than 100 million murders, it was Reagan's courage and will that sustained the sword that did it.

*Reagan's War* is a must-have volume for defending Ronald Reagan's rightful legacy. CPR



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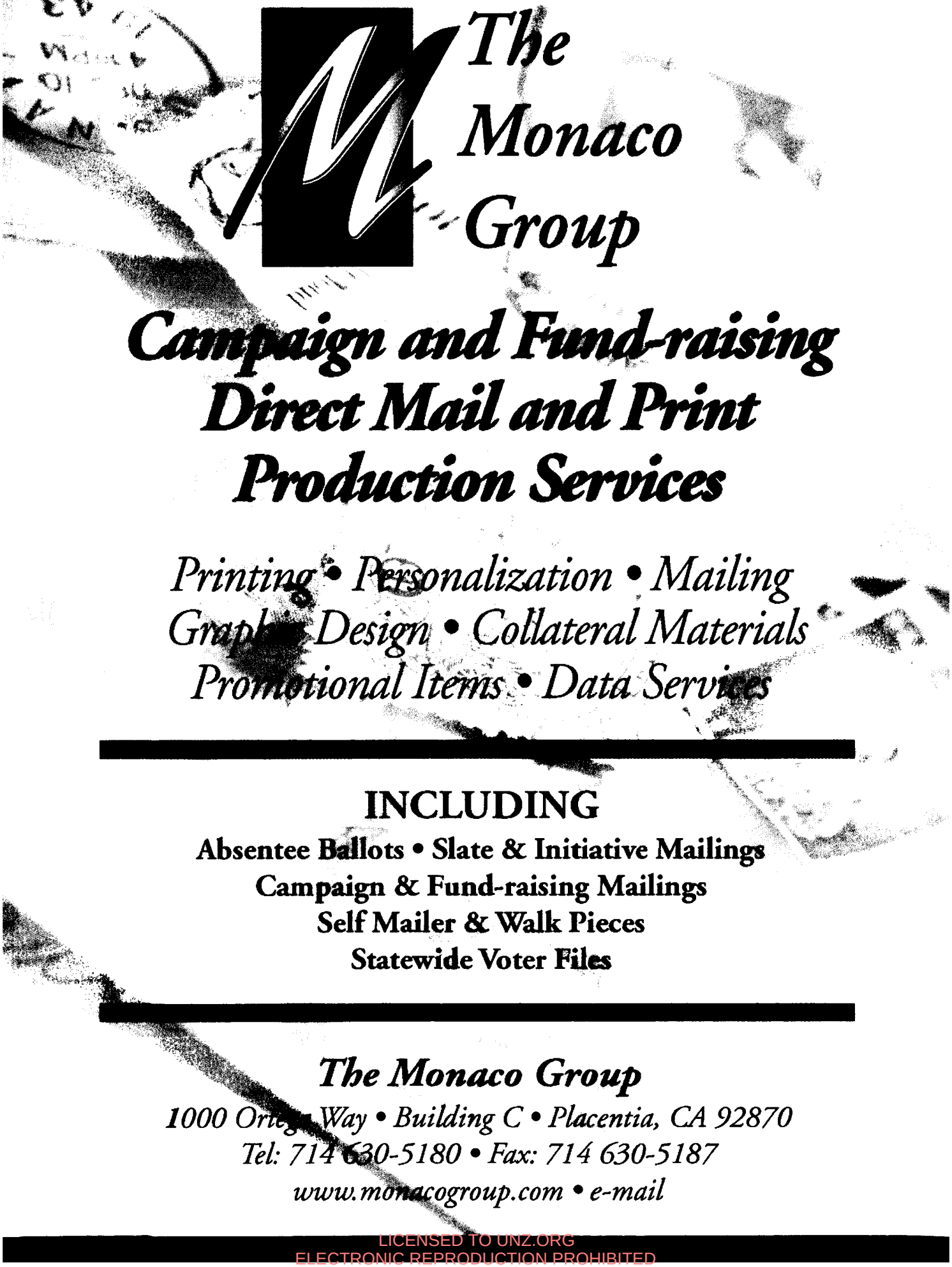
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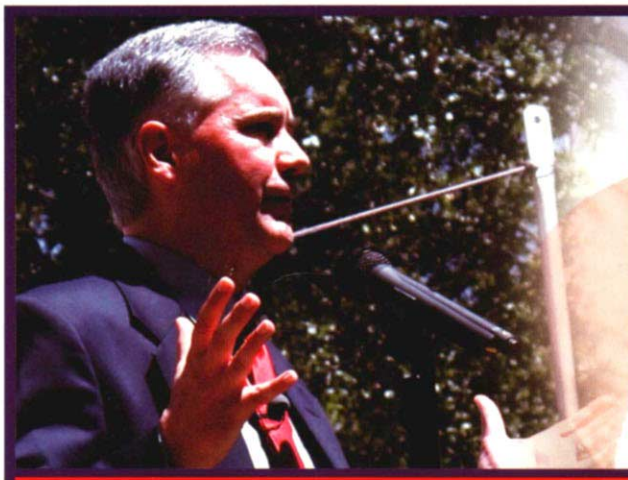

# McClintock

## FOR GOVERNOR

**TOUGH ENOUGH TO FIX CALIFORNIA**

# *What Tom McClintock Would Do on His First Day as Governor...*

## ☑ *Rescind the tripling of the car tax*

"The state's problems are not a shortage of revenue. AFTER the car tax was reduced and AFTER the dot com collapse, and AFTER the state's revenues plunged, we're still taking in 25 percent more revenue than four years ago while the population and inflation combined have grown only 21 percent."

## ☑ *Void $42 billion in overpriced electricity contracts*

"Those contracts were negotiated under a clear legal conflict of interest by Davis' chief negotiator. This governor won't stipulate to these simple facts because it would require him to admit wrongdoing. I'll certainly admit Davis has done some things wrong!"

## ☑ *Reform the workers compensation system*

"[The Legislature] will have 30 days to enact Arizona's Workers Compensation law – slashing workers comp costs by 2/3. And if they fail in 30 days, I'll take it to the ballot and let them explain to the people why they refused to act while our job market was collapsing."

# *And All That Before Lunch...*

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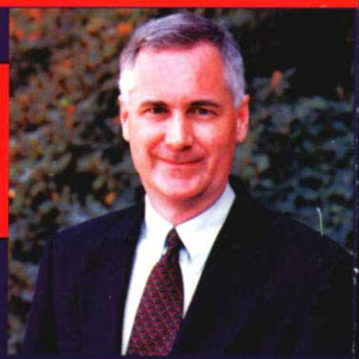

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